(Re)Presenting 1981: Narrating the Springbok Tour

by

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Abstract

The extent to which historians impose themselves on the past through their narratives remains contentious. While historians of sport have engaged these debates (e.g. Phillips, 2002; Nathan, 2003; Booth, 2005; Liberti and Smith, 2015), most continue to assume a realist correspondence between historical narratives and the past. In this thesis, I draw on Alun Munslow's 'deconstructive consciousness' to analyse competing popular and academic narrative representations of the 1981 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand between 1981 and 2019. In order to practically deconstruct these texts, I draw on Hayden White's Model of Narrative Explanation, which focusses on the form of historical narratives and directs attention to their tropes, emplotments, arguments and ideologies. In applying White's model, I demonstrate the *literary* dimensions embedded in all historical texts. Furthermore, I argue that historians are ideologically embedded in the present and project this back onto the past. As a result, changing material contexts means that our representations of the past are never static and always shifting. I map how representations of the 1981 tour have changed across three distinct epochs – 1981 – 1986; 1987 – 1994; 1995 – 2019. In deconstructing these representations of the 1981 tour, I demonstrate that history is both an empirical-analytic *and* narrative-linguistic discipline.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Terms

All Blacks – The men's non-racial national rugby team of New Zealand.

Afrikaner – Descendants of Dutch, German, and French Huguenots which settled in southern Africa from the 17th century. Sometimes referred to as Boers (meaning farmers) reflecting their traditional prevalence in agriculture. Their language is called Afrikaans.

Aotearoa – Commonly used as the Māori name for New Zealand.

Black South Africans – A catch-all phrase intended to sum up South Africa's major black ethnicities, including Xhosa, Zulu, Bapedi, Batswana, Venda, Tsonga, Swazi, and Shangaan.

Coloured – A distinctive South African ethnic group. They come from a combination of ethnic backgrounds including the Khoikhoi, San people, whites, Griqua and Asians groups such as the Javanese, Malay, Indian, and Malagasy.

Gleneagles Agreement – An agreement made by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1977 at the Gleneagles Hotel, Scotland, to combat apartheid by promising to withhold support for and discourage sporting contacts between their countries and South Africa. Full name: Gleneagles Agreement on Sporting Contact with South Africa

Iwi – Māori word referring to an extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, or race. Often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.

Kiwi – Commonly used slang used to refer to New Zealanders. Originates from the native bird by the same name, an unofficial emblem for New Zealand.

Māori – The indigenous population of New Zealand.

Marae – Meaning meeting ground. A sacred carved building used for gatherings and social occasions and is a focal point for Māori communities as it is their place of 'belonging'.

New Zealand Māori – Rugby union team selected based on Māori genealogy. First played in 1888 as the New Zealand Natives. Renamed in 2012 as the Māori All Blacks.

Pākehā – Māori word for people with a white European heritage whose cultural values and practices reflect their location as members of the dominant group in New Zealand.

Rugby League – One of two codes of rugby football. Distinct from rugby union. Typically referred to as 'league', whereas rugby union is referred to as 'rugby'.

Springboks – The men's national rugby team of South Africa. Under apartheid, the Springboks were selected from and represented South Africa's white population.

Te Reo – The language spoken by Māori. Sometimes simply called Māori or Te Reo Māori.

List of Abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress.

CABTA – Citizens' All Black Tour Association.

CARE – Citizens Association for Racial Equality.

COST – Citizens Opposed to the Springbok Tour.

HART – Halt All Racist Tours. Later became HART: The New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement after it merged with the National Anti-Apartheid Council.

IRB – International Rugby Board. The global governing body of rugby union, currently known as World Rugby.

MAST – Manawatu Against the Springbok Tour

MOST – Mobilisation to Stop the Springbok Tour

NAAC – National Anti-Apartheid Council.

NP – National Party. The governing political party in South Africa during apartheid. While New Zealand also has a National Party, this is consistently referred to as 'National'.

NZHRC – New Zealand Human Rights Commission

NZMC – New Zealand Māori Council.

NZRFU – New Zealand Rugby Football Union. In 2006 this changed to New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) and in 2013 changed to New Zealand Rugby (NZR).

SACOS – South African Council of Sport. Formed in 1973 by nine non-racial sports organizations and regarded as the internal wing of the sports boycott movement of South African sports.

SARA – South African Rugby Association. The organising body for black rugby players in South Africa during apartheid with its own representative side, called the Leopards.

SARB – South African Rugby Board. Until 1977, this body represented white South African rugby, after which it amalgamated with the SARA and SARFF but retained the name of the white body. Became the South African Rugby Football Union in 1992 after the SARB merged with the non-racial SARU. The unified body changed its name in 2005 to the current South African Rugby Union.

SARFF – South African Rugby Football Federation. The organising body for coloured rugby players in South Africa during apartheid also with its own representative side, called the Proteas.

SARU – South African Rugby Union. A non-racial governing body for rugby in South Africa founded in 1966. The body was aligned with SACOS and the anti-apartheid movement.

Introduction

In 1981, the white South African national rugby team, the Springboks, undertook their fifth tour of New Zealand. The two countries had played one another since 1921 and had established an intense rugby rivalry with tours eagerly anticipated years in advance. However, the 1981 tour took place amidst an expansive international sporting boycott of apartheid South Africa and was widely condemned for being in violation of the 1977 *Gleneagles Agreement on Sporting Contact with South Africa*. Many boycotters believed that playing sport against South Africa – particularly rugby, the national sport of the white Afrikaner nation – bolstered white confidence in the racist regime and lessened the pressure for reform. In New Zealand, the tour was divisive. Many New Zealanders believed their multi-ethnic society should not endorse sporting ties with an openly racist regime. However, others believed that apartheid was a political problem, requiring a political solution, and that sport existed independently from such matters. Despite numerous mass action campaigns to have it called off, the tour proceeded. For its fifty-six-day duration, thousands of New Zealanders publicly demonstrated against the tour. Protests ranged from peaceful marches to violent confrontations with rugby supporters and specially trained riot police. By the end of the tour, more than 150,000 New Zealanders had protested in twenty-eight centres across the country, arrests for tour related offences numbered around 2000, and the cost for policing was estimated at more than NZ$7 million.[1] This represented the largest anti-apartheid protest outside of South Africa. The ferocity of the protests startled many white South Africans and likely fuelled a deepening sense of cultural isolation.[2]

Nearly four decades after its conclusion, the tour remains a notable source of interest in New Zealand. It is taught in school and university history curricula; receives attention in academic and popular histories; its anniversaries are commemorated with television dramas, documentaries, news articles, web sites and is regularly invoked in the obituaries of actors associated one way or another with the events. It seems any event can rekindle the subject. During the recent COVID-19 pandemic a journalist revealed that several of the 1981

[1] Trevor Richards, "Thou Shalt Play! What 60 years of controversy over New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa tells us about ourselves", *New Zealand Studies* 6.2 (1996), pp. 26-32.

[2] Geoff Chapple. *1981: The Tour* (Wellington, NZ: Reed, 1984), p. 98; David Black & John Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, cultures, politics, and power in the old and new South Africa's* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 89.

Springboks had contracted the virus during a team reunion. The author of the news article then drew a parallel between the current 'lockdown' New Zealanders faced as a result of the virus and the Springboks who "had to go into lockdown …to avoid confrontation with New Zealand protesters".[3] So too the resumption of live rugby in New Zealand following the pandemic conjured another reference to the tour when a Hercules aircraft did an honorary flypast over Auckland's Eden Park stadium. Rugby commentator, Tony Johnson, reminded viewers that "the last time a plane flew that low over Eden Park, it was not such a happy occasion" – a reference to the final match between the Springboks and All Blacks in 1981 during which a light aircraft repeatedly dropped bags of flour and anti-apartheid pamphlets onto the field and players.[4] Within New Zealand, the tour remains a significant cultural reference point and part of the national imagination.

In this dissertation, I examine popular and academic literary representations of the tour produced by New Zealanders. In unpacking these texts, I am influenced by deconstructionist thought which questions the historian's ability to produce truth about the past.[5] Accordingly, I follow a deconstructionist epistemology "grounded in notions of anti-essentialism and anti-foundationalism that rejects universal and/or objective knowledge".[6] In so doing, I follow the philosopher of history, Alun Munslow, who argued that "instead of beginning with the past we should start with its representation, because it is only by doing this that we challenge the belief that there is a discoverable and accurately representable truthfulness in the reality of the past."[7] This notion confronts the epistemological underpinning of history as a discipline which can empirically and scientifically present a single objective and factual 'truth' about the past. Rather, history is conceptualised as a *representation* of the past by a present-centred, perspectival, and ideologically embedded historian. This position disrupts claims of universal truths and refutes the possibility of researching from a position of 'nowhere'.[8]

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[3] "Coronavirus scare hits 1981 Springboks who toured New Zealand", *Stuff*, 30 March 2020.

[4] "Super Rugby Aotearoa: BLU v HUR (Live)", *Sky Sport One*, 14 June 2020. Commentated by Tony Johnson.

[5] In this research, I follow Alun Munslow's conceptualization of deconstruction rather than Jacque Derrida "who employed the term more narrowly to mean the process whereby we grasp the meaning of texts without reference to some originating external reality". See: Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 2.

[6] Douglas Booth & Mark Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies" in Richard Giulianotti (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 158.

[7] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 3.

[8] Richard Pringle & Murray G. Phillips (eds.), *Examining Sport Histories: Power, Paradigms, and Reflexivity* (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2013), p. 2.

My concern here is not with critiquing representations of the 1981 tour from an empirical position or establishing their historical accuracy. Rather, I will build on the deconstructionist critique of history by interrogating them as *literary* constructions. Interrogating these texts as literary constructions exposes an additional set of interpretations that historian impose on the past and can allow us to further account for the diversity and disparity of histories which have access to the same evidence. A deconstructionist approach adds a new set of critical apparatuses that can be used to interrogate how historians have interpreted the past. This literary and discursive focus of deconstructionism is overlooked by other historical research paradigms. Perhaps most importantly, deconstructionism emphasises the essential role narrative plays in learning, communicating information, and ultimately power dynamics. By deconstructing how historians use narrative, the fundamentals of how we learn and communicate are being interrogated. Deconstructing accounts of the 1981 tour not only highlights the very real literary and discursive dimensions of writing history, but also exposes the gaps, silences, omissions or redactions present in these narratives which are fundamentally not neutral and serve certain kinds of identity politics and national narratives. To this end, narratives are a source of power. Deconstructionism aids us in understanding how these narratives are constructed, whether they reflect larger power dynamics, and how ideology influences what is emphasized in the retelling of the past.

The 1981 Springbok Tour

Deconstructionists consider history to be an empirical-linguistic discipline. Below, I engage the empirical dimension of history by providing a brief overview of the most general points of agreement about the 1981 tour. Here I follow Munslow's conceptualisation of a historical 'fact' as "a referential single-truth-conditional statement about the actuality of the real world that…remains unaffected by the act of its description".[9] Accordingly, what I present here are the most verifiable, chronological 'facts' of the tour which exist beyond the realm of interpretation and meaning.

The Springboks commenced their tour of New Zealand against Poverty Bay in Gisborne on 22 July 1981 and played their final match on 12 September 1981 against the All Blacks in Auckland. This was the first time a rugby tour of New Zealand would be broadcast live to

[9] Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 98.

South African television. The team was captained by Wynand Claassen, coached by Nelie Smith, and managed by Johann Claassen. Included in the touring party were Errol Tobias, the first player of colour to be selected for the Springboks, and Abe Williams, a coloured assistant manager. The All Blacks were captained by Andy Dalton and coached by Peter Burke. All Blacks Bruce Robertson and Graham Mourie, incumbent captain of the side prior to the tour, made themselves unavailable for selection. Fourteen of the scheduled sixteen matches were played: three test-matches between the All Blacks and Springboks; one match between the Springboks and the New Zealand Māori; and ten matches against provincial representative teams. The scheduled matches against Waikato and South Canterbury did not take place. The All Blacks won the series by two tests to one, while the Springboks were victorious in all ten of their matches against provincial teams; their match with the New Zealand Māori ended in a draw.

Throughout the Springboks' time in New Zealand there were protests: some were peaceful, and some were violent. Halt All Racist Tours (HART), a nation-wide anti-apartheid organisation, arranged many of the protests. Several other organisations also arranged protests, including Citizens Opposed to the Springbok Tour (COST), Mobilisation to Stop the Springbok Tour (MOST), Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE), and Manawatu Against the Springbok Tour (MAST). Prior to the tour, two specialised police units were created, named the Blue and Red Squads, who travelled with the Springboks throughout their time in New Zealand and helped with the policing outside rugby stadiums. Cumulatively, the tour was the most extensive police operation in New Zealand's history.

On 19 July, prior to their opening match against Poverty Bay, the Springboks attended a welcoming ceremony in Gisborne at the Te Poho-o-Rawiri Marae. Graham Latimer, President of the New Zealand Māori Council, attended the ceremony, announcing that "we will not make another such welcome on a Māori Marae unless your government can show it is prepared to change its policies on apartheid".[10] In Hamilton, before the Springbok-Waikato game (the second scheduled match of the tour), several hundred protestors (the precise number remains speculative) broke through the perimeter fence at Rugby Park and occupied the field. The match was called off before it could begin. The following week, on 29 July in Wellington, a

[10] *1981: A Country at War* (Frame Up Films: 2000) Directed by Rachel Jean & Owen Hughes, 4min. 09 sec. – 4 min. 17 sec.

violent confrontation occurred between police and protestors on Molesworth Street. During the same week, New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon sanctioned the military to give logistical support to police stationed outside rugby stadiums. Barbed-wire barricades were erected outside most rugby stadiums in order to fortify them. In Christchurch, the location of the first test, the Springboks slept in the Linwood Rugby Club because hotels refused to accommodate them. Similarly, in Wellington and Auckland, the locations of the second and third tests respectively, the Springboks slept in the grandstands of the venues where they were scheduled to play. During the final test match of the series, a pilot in a light aircraft made several low flying swoops over the playing field, dropping bags of flour onto the playing surface and players.

These represent the most agreed upon and 'barest facts' of the tour. I have deliberately resisted characterising what protests were about or when in fact the tour started and concluded (outside of its dates of occurrence) because, as will be seen in the texts in this research, there is no single or uncontested answer to these questions. It is not contestable that the events discussed above occurred, however, their meaning remains open to interpretation as rarely do historians read or see evidence in the same way.[11] It is in the process of explaining, colligating, emploting, and narrating these facts that historians subject them to interpretation and thereby give meaning to the past beyond what Munslow calls "the immediate level of the factual statement of verifiable relationship".[12] What is of significance to this research is the literary process by which historians 'explain' facts and weave them into their narratives and the meaning that this imposes on the past. Deconstructionism conceptualizes historical facts as "constituents of a rhetorical or narrative structure that is invariably written for a particular purpose" and therefore, rather than being a revelation of 'truth' about the past, are always "the constructions of historians".[13] My interest then is more on the form of historical narratives rather than their content. Following the philosopher of history and patron of deconstructionism, Hayden White, the question I seek to answer is not 'what is the content?', but rather how has the content been described and presented by the historian in order to render it convincing and persuade the reader of its 'truth'?.[14]

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[11] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 81.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 134.

Typically, there have been certain preferred narratives on the tour – which dictate the selection of evidence – which have survived and are continually reproduced. Contemporarily, it is the anti-racist, anti-apartheid side of the tour which has been incorporated into New Zealand's dominant cultural script. The event has been narrated to aid the image of New Zealand identity as anti-racist and multi-ethnic. While these may be the preferred readings on the tour, my research will demonstrate that they are far from singular and uncontested. This research proceeds on the presupposition that by telling their stories of the 1981 tour, those who seek to present its 'truth' help recreate the event. Each narrator portrays the tour (somewhat) differently and offers a different (moral) conclusion, thereby reconfiguring our understanding of the event.[15] Historical interpretations of events are constantly changing because we inevitably evaluate the past through the ideological lens of the present. Therefore, by chronologically tracing the emergence of popular representations of the tour, we can chart how these representations shift and respond to changing material conditions. As this research will demonstrate, the stories we produce during one historical moment are likely to differ from those produced at another. The novelist Evan Connell notes that when "values change, so does one's evaluation of the past and one's impression of long-gone actors. New myths replace the old".[16]

By treating history as a human construction, historians need to recognise that, as Nathan contends, "cultural perspective and context go a long way toward determining meaning".[17] For this research I consider the various narratives of the 1981 tour as differing and competing representations of an historical event. Essentially, there cannot be a historical narrative which is absolutely authoritative. Context and perspective will always dictate the nature of the representation. As does the way in which the author prefigures their narrative, as their politics and ideology shape their interpretation of the past and the selection of evidence. Historical narratives all originate under differing contexts. This means they cannot be divorced from their specific social and cultural circumstances. Therefore, my research questions centre not so much

[15] Daniel A. Nathan, *Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), p. 7.

[16] Evan Connell, *Son of the Morning Star: Custer and the Little Big Horn* (New York: Harper Collins, 1984), p. 106. Quoted in: Nathan, *Saying It's So*, p. 7.

[17] Nathan, *Saying It's So*, p. 9.

on establishing the 'truth' or legitimacy behind the narratives on the 1981 tour, as it does on establishing what shapes these reconstructions.

This thesis consists of a methods chapter, four content chapters and a conclusion. In the content chapters, I deconstruct twenty-one texts which deal in some way with the 1981 tour. I classify these texts as activist histories (four), popular histories (eight), and academic histories (nine).[18] Rugby writing in New Zealand is vast and I began by identifying some eighty texts for possible analysis. Like all historians, in order to present this research, I have had to make decisions about what to include and what to exclude. This selection has largely come down to what I have interpreted as the best texts for this research; it is highly plausible that another researcher may have selected different texts. In each chapter, I have included a footnote on some of the texts – finalists if you will – which are notable and informative but did not make it into the chapter. In deciding which texts to include or exclude, I formulated a set of criteria:

a) Texts widely circulated in New Zealand, and therefore most likely to inform 'knowledge' and understanding on the tour. In order to assess this, I canvassed the collections of each of the New Zealand's major metropolitan and university library catalogues.[19] I have not considered the library catalogues of smaller provincial centres, but I have no reason to believe that they would be vastly different from the metropolitan libraries;

b) Regarding academic histories, I intentionally searched for authors who represented the tour from alternate theoretical paradigms in order to display the array of (disparate) explanations through which researchers have sought to make sense of the tour;

c) I have sought to include texts which are frequently drawn on in other representations of the tour. For instance, there is a cohort of activist histories which are typically cited by academics (but are totally excluded by popular rugby writers), while a similar cohort of texts are consistently drawn on in the popular histories;

[18] For clarity, next to each text that I deconstruct, I have inserted an image of the book's cover page. In Chapters Three to Five I draw on texts that form a chapter within a book or edited collections. Here I have inserted an image of the book within which the text that I deconstruct is published.

[19] The library catalogues I searched were: Auckland City Library; University of Auckland Library; University of Canterbury Library; Christchurch City Library; Dunedin City Library; Hamilton City Library; Hocken Collections Library; Massey University Library; New Zealand National Library; University of Otago Library; Palmerston North City Library; Victoria University of Wellington Library; University of Waikato Library; Wellington City Library.

d) The length and quality of a representation. I have excluded texts that only fleetingly reference the tour or present a significant deal of overlap with another text. This resulted in the exclusion of some texts by popular authors. For instance, Terry McLean, perhaps New Zealand's most well-known rugby author, offers a comparatively short representation of the tour which does not warrant discussion at the expense of a text with a fuller representation. I have also excluded some texts to improve the readability of this research and to avoid repetition;

e) Spatial constraints. The deconstructive analysis I undertake in this research is word-heavy, which has meant I simply do not have the space to include a wider array of texts. Furthermore, popular writing on rugby in New Zealand is expansive, traversing player and coach (auto) biographies, general histories, recollections of classic matches, tours, or series, celebrations of legendary players, histories of enduring rivalries, and innumerable statistics books. The expanse of the popular genre is too vast to cover in a single volume. Accordingly, I have chosen to focus predominantly on histories which fall into a broadly 'general' category;

f) I have sought to include texts which best demonstrate the dominant narrative of the period, as well as those which most clearly display how the narratives about the tour have shifted over time.

In order to effectively gauge how representations around the tour have changed, each chapter considers the texts to emerge during a specific period or epoch. Chapter Two deals with activist histories emerging between 1981 – 1986, Chapter Three and Four consider popular histories between 1987 – 1994 and 1995 – 2016 respectively, while Chapter Five considers academic representations that have emerged since 1981. I have divided the chapters according to these timelines because they broadly indicate shifts in the meaning of the tour corresponding to shifts in the material context from which they emerge. I consider the epoch of 1981 – 1986 to be the 'period of engagement' with the tour for the activists who produced texts about the events during this time. It takes time to reflect on what has happened, produce a text, find a publisher and so on. In this respect, it is not so much the historical context of this specific period that influences these texts, but rather a reflection of the time it has taken the authors to consider and understand the events that took place between July and September 1981. Importantly, attempting to periodise in this manner is a difficult task. The epochs I employ do not indicate

abrupt changes but rather broadly represent shifts in the dominant narrative which have developed over several years. Ultimately these epochs act predominantly as a means to effectively present the data and do not claim to represent essential qualities of each period. Furthermore, each chapter is titled according to the dominant trope to emerge from narratives about the tour during that given period.

Chapter Overview

In Chapter One, Deconstructionist History, I provide a comprehensive discussion of my theoretical framework and methodology. I explain Munslow's distinction among reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist historical paradigms. This is followed by an account of Hayden White's Model of Historical Explanation, which I use to deconstruct the texts on the 1981 tour. This model highlights a deep structure of tropes, modes of emplotment, arguments, and ideological implications present in the literary constructions of each historical text. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on some of the critiques of deconstructionism and the limitations of White's model.

In Chapter Two, Politicising Rugby, I deconstruct how activists who took part in the anti-tour campaign represented it between 1981 – 1986. These types of histories about the tour largely disappeared after 1986. I include texts by Tom Newnham, Geoff Chapple, and an edited collection of women's poetry and prose by Rosemary Hollins and Margaret Freeman. I have also included an alternative political narrative to those emerging from activists. This alternative narrative is told by Ross Meurant, a member of the police riot squad in 1981.

Chapters Three and Four address how popular histories between 1987 – 2019 have represented the tour. While similar in scope, they are nevertheless quite different. It is important to note that this thesis is an experiment in applying a deconstructionist model to popular histories, a feature which contributes to making this work unique. It is important to deconstruct popular histories because of the linear, authoritative and confident way in which they tend to present the past. Historian Julia Laite makes the case that the public is generally uninterested in the maybes, perhaps' or the uncertainties which accompany the realities of historical research.[20] Deconstructing popular texts problematises how these popular histories represent the past by

[20] Julia Laite, "Radical Uncertainty", *History Workshop Online*, 16 September 2020.

emphasising the contested nature of 'facts', the fundamental discontinuity and heterogeneity of past realities, and that the form histories take determines how and which 'facts' are woven into historical narratives. What deconstructionism contests is the authoritative representations of the past which often characterise these popular histories. Instead it contends that the unobserved (and unobservable) past needs to be recognised as indeterminate and comprising many 'maybes' and 'perhaps'' which runs contrary to the authoritative and fulsome image of the past typically presented in popular histories.

Chapter Three, Rehabilitating and Depoliticising Rugby, considers how popular histories represented the tour between 1987 – 1994. The texts I have included here are authored by Don Cameron, Rod Chester and Neville MacMillan, Graeme Hutchins, and Graeme Barrow. In contrast to the highly politicised texts in the previous chapter, these texts attempt to dissociate rugby from its contentious image in 1981. Chapter Four, Virtuous Rugby, builds on these themes but, in the era of rugby's professionalisation, tends to emphasise a narrative entrenched in a nostalgic image of the virtues of the game to the extent that it is celebrated for aiding the erosion of apartheid. The texts I deconstruct here are authored by Finlay Macdonald, Keith Quinn, Malcolm Mulholland, and Ron Palenski.

Chapter Five, Politicising Rugby in Academic Representations, returns to political narratives like those presented in Chapter One. Here I considered the work of Jock Phillips, Geoff Fougere, Trevor Richards, Charlotte Hughes, and Malcolm MacLean. While I have considered one text by each author, MacLean has written prolifically about the tour. Accordingly, I treat MacLean's work as a body of research and deconstruct five of his engagements with the tour. These researchers each employ different analytical paradigms to explain the tour. In so doing, we get explanations based on gender politics, post-coloniality and race, spatialised and affective economies, generational politics, economic relations, and identity politics.

In the conclusion I consider some contemporary remembrances of the tour as it is represented in the media. I also engage with the popular texts as history and the limitations of academic constructions of knowledge. Next, I consider some of the gaps in this research and potential future directions. In particular, I address the absence of visual representations of the tour, such as documentaries, in this research. I conclude with some remarks on the state of sport history and its general reluctance to discuss historiography or engage deconstructionist techniques.

CHAPTER ONE
Deconstructionist History

Introduction

To provide a complete analysis of the historical texts in this research, I turn to the narrative-linguistic elements of deconstructionism which question "the traditional assumptions of empiricism couched in factualism, disinterested analysis, objectivity, truth, and the continuing division between history, ideology, fiction and perspective".[1] As Munslow reminds us, "historical knowledge and understanding are not acquired exclusively as an empiricist enterprise, but rather are generated by the nature of representation and the aesthetic decisions of the historian".[2] In this chapter, I present a comprehensive overview of a deconstructionist epistemology and what Alun Munslow calls a 'deconstructive consciousness'. Following this, I introduce Hayden White's Model of Historical Explanation, which I draw on to practice deconstruction. White's work primarily highlights the discursive and literary dimensions which are embedded in and fundamentally shape all historical texts. In this section I also respond to critiques of White by Keith Jenkins, who has made adaptations to this model. Next, I consider critiques of the deconstructionist paradigm, as well as some of the limitations of White's work which I have discerned in the course of this research. By way of a conclusion, I attempt to make visible the seams of construction in my own work.

Theoretical Framework

Deconstructionism reminds us that while the past stays the same, history (as a narrative representation of the past) is always changing as new interpretations or new sources (traces of the past) are unearthed. In this respect, the past is only accessible to us through interpretations and representations chosen by the historian. Different narrative structures and emplotments will drastically alter the way in which the past is presented and constructed, and therefore received by readers who invariably filter texts through their own cultures and experiences. As an advocate of deconstructionism, Munslow argued that history can never provide *the* story,

[1] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 180.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 89.

rather "it is *a* narrative designed by the historian as he/she organises the contents in the form of a narrative of what he/she believes the past was about".[3]

Following Munslow, historical analyses can be arranged into three distinctive paradigms: reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist. Reconstructionist history, commonly considered the proper way to reanimate the past, encompasses a "realist, common-sense, empiricist, referential, truth-conditional, objectivised, inferential, non-theory, and non-ideological professional history". The primary method of reconstructionist historians has been what Munslow calls "common-sense empiricism" couched in realism and the correspondence theory of knowledge, allowing researchers to believe that they can reconstruct the past *as it actually was*. Historians working in this paradigm insist that they are able to objectively discover the most probably truthful interpretation inherent in the remnants of the past and write it up as history. By interrogating empirical evidence through comparison, verification, contextualisation, and authentication, reconstructionist historians assume that they can present genuine knowledge about the past and describe it through everyday language. The quality and truthfulness of an historical account is determined by the skill of the historian's interrogation of the evidence and exists independently from rhetoric or discourse. This paradigm claims that "the true intentions and voices of people in the past will speak to, and through, the reconstructionist historian". At the heart of the reconstructionist approach to history lies the fundamental separation of fact from fiction and the observer from the observed; that is, truth exists independently from the historian and is not perspectival because reality can be unearthed in the facts of evidence.[4]

Alternatively, constructionist histories impose social theories, models, or covering laws of explanation on the past.[5] Constructionist historians typically maintain that history results from "a conceptual dialogue between the historian and the past". Unlike reconstructionist historians, constructionists recognise the intervention by the historian in the process of constructing history, primarily through the process of *conceptualising* the evidence. Historians working in this paradigm typically engage in the judicious application of social, political or economic concepts like race, gender, nationalism or class. Such concepts are considered to be

[3] Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 242.
[4] *Ibid*., pp. 195-197.
[5] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 162.

prerequisites to understanding "the structures that shaped lives, the decisions, and actions of people in the past". While the recognition of the historian's intervention suggests a more sophisticated, self-conscious approach to history, constructionists still engage primarily in an empiricist methodology. The evidence is a servant of the historian's preferred concepts, categories, and tool of analysis.[6]

Munslow's third historical paradigm is deconstructionism. Broadly speaking, deconstructionism designates various critical approaches to history that emerged foremost from the linguistic turn (itself underpinned by developments in continental philosophy, critical theory, and post-structuralism).[7] It emerged from a growing objection to correspondence theory that unproblematically linked "the word to the world".[8] The foundational presupposition of a deconstructionist approach to history is that the past is only ever accessible to us as a textual representation – in essence, the past translated into history. Typically, historians working in the first two paradigms have assumed that genuine knowledge can be presented "through the process of logic and rational thought all made accessible through a neutral, passive and stable system of language that operated beyond the object of description".[9] However, deconstructionism undermines this belief, insisting that historical understanding is as much a product of literary artifice as it is a knowable historical reality.[10] As opposed to reconstructionist and constructionist approaches which privilege empirical data, deconstructionism approaches history as an empirical-analytical *and* narrative-linguistic craft. While all three paradigms delve into remnants of the past, deconstructionism begins its analysis with the linguistic/discursive elements of historical materials. It forefronts the role of discourse and rhetoric in the constitution of the past as history. For Munslow, "deconstructive history is a self-conscious narrative composition written in the here and the now that recognises its literary form as its essential cognitive medium and not merely its mode of report".[11] In this sense, narrative, the favoured medium for the historian to present their work, represents an organising tool for the aesthetic turning of the past into 'the-past-as-history'. As Hayden White insists:

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[6] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, pp. 53-55.
[7] *Ibid*., pp. 69, 195.
[8] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 164.
[9] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 69.
[10] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 176.
[11] *Ibid*., pp. 163-164.

> In my view, "history," as a plenum of documents that attest to the occurrence of events, can be put together in a number of *different and equally plausible narrative accounts* of "*what happened in the past*," accounts from which the reader of the historian himself, may draw *different conclusions* about "what must be done" in the present.[12]

At its most basic level, a deconstructionist methodology represents a form of hermeneutics which entails extracting meaning from a text of which the producer may have been wholly unaware.[13] It is a process of interrogating the discourses through which we attempt to engage with the real world.[14] In so doing, deconstructionism questions history's traditional investment in referential language and the belief that "we can more or less accurately and truthfully interpret the world of the past as an entity separate from ourselves".[15] Deconstructionism insists that historical knowledge is produced as a linguistic text which has no direct access to past reality. While historians working in the first two paradigms assume that the shape of a historical narrative is predetermined by the nature of the evidence, a deconstructionist position firmly implicates the historian in the constitution of the past as history.[16] Constructing a historical interpretation means arranging ideas, sorting evidence, and imposing an explanatory emplotment and argument on the past. Importantly, Munslow draws the salient distinction between the past as an entity which once was, is no more and is gone for good, and history, which comprises "a corpus of narrative discourses *about* the once reality of the past produced and fashioned by historians".[17] As the philosopher of history Keith Jenkins summarises, "the actual past is gone. It has in it arguably neither rhyme nor reason: it is sublime. The presence of the past is manifested only in its historicised traces accessible now; such traces signify an 'absent presence'".[18]

In this research, I adopt a deconstructionist epistemology that

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[12] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 283.

[13] Willie Thompson, *Postmodernism and History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 10.

[14] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 70.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] Thompson, *Postmodernism and History*, pp. 57-58.

[17] Alun Munslow, *Narrative and History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 9.

[18] Keith Jenkins, *On 'What is History?' From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 174.

> recognises the existence of the reality-effect rather than the fantasy notion of historical truth, denies that we can discover the intentionality of the author, accepts chains of interpretive signification rather than recoverable original meaning, refuses the seductions of the easy referent, disputes the objectivity of the historian as he/she works within the figurative structure of narrative, accepts the sublime nature of the past imagined as a sense of 'the other', and admits that the form and content relationship is more complex than many in reconstructionist and constructionist tendencies often allow.[19]

At its core, deconstructionist history questions whether we can really know the 'true' past. The supposed 'natural' links between history and the past are rather regarded as assumed epistemological ones which find expression through the way historians describe them. History, in this respect, functions as a metaphor for the past, calling to mind images of the things it indicates. As Munslow puts it, "[history] cannot constitute a genuine image of the object it aspires to describe, and offers instead a cognitive map for the reader to find the appropriate and explanatory associative images".[20] Language by its very nature is metaphorical (in essence, representational) which means that reality and truth are not directly accessible. "It is only by denying this", Munslow reasons, "that philosophers can claim unmediated access to reality and to truth".[21] History, then, as a linguistic representation of the past, signifies similarities with past realities but cannot recreate them. What this fundamentally means is that there are no disinterested historians and that history ought to be viewed as a literary genre possessing distinctive philosophical objectives, or so Munslow concludes.[22] To employ a deconstructive consciousness means to think self-consciously about the nature and role of narrative in the practice of the craft.

Methodology

In the deconstructionist paradigm, history is the work of an historian mediated by his/her intentions, the availability of sources, the chosen narrative structure, choices around what is

[19] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 166.
[20] *Ibid*., p. 176.
[21] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 71.
[22] *Ibid*., p. 73.

included and excluded, and the material context of the time in which the text is created. Thus, the ability for history to create 'knowledge' about the past must be deconstructed, as history can at best only be a perspectival representation of the past. A deconstructionist methodology allows the historian to more fully address the shortcomings, as well as the potential, of narrative as a means of historical explanation. To further unpack the aesthetic decisions that historians make in their narratives, I draw on Hayden White. While White does not dispute that historical facts can be professionally established, he does believe that the form of an explanation is more critical than its content. He insists that the narrative used by historians to emplot their version of the past does not act as a detached vehicle for transmitting past realities.[23] Instead, the narrativisation of the past by historians (based on their ideological preferences) goes a long way toward providing some form of meaning to their account.

For Munslow and White, narrative has become virtually synonymous with history. As David Hackett Fischer observes, "most historians tell stories in their work. Good historians tell true stories. Great historians, from time to time, tell the best true stories which their topics and problems permit".[24] While Fischer reminds us that narrative is not the only form of explanation historians use, he admits that "it is one of the more common and most characteristically historical forms".[25] Indeed, Munslow insists that history cannot exist for the reader until the historian writes it into a narrative, because sources cannot speak for themselves.[26] For deconstructionists like Munslow and White, history is a narrative making exercise which entails far more than empiricism and inference.[27] Rather, it is a literary creation through which historians impose a particular narrative form on the past. Because the past does not conform or correspond to a pre-existing narrative, White argues that historians impose a narrative structure on the past for explanatory, political, and ideological reasons.[28] This leads Munslow to conclude that history "is a narrative designed by the historian as he/she organises the content in the form of a narrative of what he/she believes the past was about".[29] The evidence historians

[23] Munslow. *Deconstructing History*, p. 149.

[24] David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 131.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 2.

[27] *Ibid*., pp. 149-150.

[28] White, *Metahistory*, p. ix.

[29] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 242.

draw on to construct their versions of the past exist "in a pre-jigsawed state, a condition that requires the historian to cut and shape it into a narrative explanation".[30]

For White, the historical narrative is the product of the chronicle (whereby the elements of the historical field are arranged in the temporal order of their occurrence) being transformed into a story by arranging events into a process of happening and a hierarchy of significance with a clearly discernible beginning, middle and end.[31] Within this transformation process, events are characterised as inaugural, transitional, or terminational motifs. Notably, the same event can serve different motific purposes depending on the role assigned to it by the historian. In essence, an event serving an inaugural motif in one story may be terminational in another, depending on what kind of story the historian is attempting to tell. Once a given set of events has been motifically encoded, White believes, the chronicle has been transformed into a story.[32] In so doing, the historian creates a narrative which, at its most basic level, provides an explanation used to account for how things happened, in what order they happened, and the cause and effect of events. Through this process the historian becomes firmly implicated in the constitution of the past as history.[33] According to White:

> It is sometimes said that the aim of the historian is to explain the past by 'finding', 'identifying', or 'uncovering' the 'stories' that lie buried in chronicles; and that the difference between 'history' and 'fiction' resides in the fact that the historian 'finds' his stories, whereas the fiction writer 'invents' his. This conception of the historian's task, however, obscures the extent to which 'invention' also plays a part in the historian's operations.[34]

This is not to suggest that historians 'make up' the past – they are still dealing with real lives and events. Nevertheless, this does not deny the constituted nature of history which, as Rita Liberti and Maureen M. Smith contend, is indeed 'made'.[35] British historian John Tosh corroborates this, noting that any attempts to describe the past necessarily rely on "imaginative

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[30] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 160.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 6.

[33] Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 69.

[34] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 6-7

[35] Rita Liberti & Maureen M. Smith, *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2015), p. 2.

powers and an eye for detail" similar to those practiced by fictional writers.[36] So too Lloyd Kramer argues that every attempt to describe an historical event relies on narratives that "display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary".[37] History, then, is as much a narrative-linguistic craft as it is an empirical-analytical one.

White's Model of Historical Explanation

White's work draws attention to the role of narrative in histories and how historians impose themselves on their work. Narrative, for White, is intrinsic to transforming the past into history and its role should be actively explored. In taking selected events from a chronicle and turning them into a story, the historian typically addresses specific questions: What happened next? How did that happen? Why did things happen this way rather than that? How did it all come out in the end? These questions determine the narrative tactics the historian employs to construct their story. However, White also identifies another tier of questions that shape the completed story: what does it all add up to? and what is the point of it all?[38] These questions, White continues, "call for a synoptic judgement of the relationship between a given story and other stories that might be 'found', 'identified', or 'uncovered' in the chronicle".[39] To summarise, based on how the historian goes about trying to best answer these questions, their reference to the chronicle may produce alternative, disparate, and even conflicting histories.

White's magnum opus, *Metahistory* (1973), sets out his Model of Historical Explanation which provides a working template to unearth, compare and "assess narrative structures evident in contrasting histories".[40] By treating history as a literary creation, I draw on White's model to compare and contrast the popular and academic representations produced in New Zealand on the 1981 tour. In so doing, I follow the challenge laid down by Munslow and White that the

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[36] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 112

[37] Lloyd Kramer, "Literature, Criticism, and Historical Imagination: The Literary Challenge of Hayden White and Dominick LaCapra" in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 101.

[38] White, *Metahistory*, p. 7.

[39] *Ibid*.

[40] Murray G. Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History: Reading the Surf Lifesaving Debate", *Journal of Sport History* 29.1 (2002), p. 28.

traditional notion of history as a discipline written by an unbiased, ideologically neutral, non-impositionalist and objective historian needs to be reassessed.[41]

Table 1: Hayden White's Model of Historical Explanation (1973)			
Trope	**Emplotment**	**Argument**	**Ideology**
Metaphor	Romantic	Formist	Anarchism
Metonymy	Tragic	Mechanistic	Radicalism
Synecdoche	Comic	Organicist	Conservatism
Irony	Satiric	Contextualist	Liberalism

As displayed in Table One, White's model consists of four parts. Three parts are made up of what White calls surface tiers, they are: explanations by emplotment, explanations by argumentative mode, and the ideological implication of the form the historian gives to their narrative.[42] Through these three surface tiers which ultimately transform stories into narratives, White believes that the historian departs from those questions which make the history a *followable* story and instead answers the questions of 'what it all adds up to' and 'what the point of it all is'.[43] However, White believes that the surface tiers are ultimately governed by a deep structure of tropes embedded in human consciousness and which determine the way historians prefigure their understanding of the historical field prior to composing their narratives. Summarising White, Australian sport historian Murray G. Phillips notes that "tropes precede the historical narrative; they set up the historical field".[44]

However, for this research I follow Keith Jenkins' contention that White mistakenly inverts the relationship between trope and ideology. White believes that the historian initially tropes the field and that tropes prefigure and precede the modes of argument, emplotment and ideology. However, Jenkins contends that "although White's categories are probably 'essential', I think his order of presentation may be 'wrong' and that, more particularly, he rather unexpectedly down-plays the ideological'.[45] Rather, Jenkins insists that White is wrong to assume that "tropes come before ideology". Instead, he argues that "it is precisely because one is a certain

[41] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", p. 29.

[42] White draws his four modes of explanation by emplotment from Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957); his explanation by argumentative mode from Stephen C. Pepper, *World Hypothesis: A Study of Evidence* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1942); and his ideological implications from Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1936).

[43] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 154.

[44] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", p. 28.

[45] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 174.

type of…historian…that one will be drawn to a particular way of 'figuring things out' in the first place, and that it is therefore the ideological mode which *predetermines* which trope will be used to metaphorically do so".[46] Jenkins thus offers an alternative model which I present as Table Two:

Table 2: Keith Jenkins' Adaptation of White's Model

Ideology	**Trope**	**Emplotment**	**Argument**
Anarchism	Metaphor	Romantic	Formist
Radicalism	Metonymy	Tragic	Mechanistic
Conservatism	Synecdoche	Comic	Organicist
Liberalism	Irony	Satiric	Contextualist

Accordingly, Jenkins insists that White's ideological modes attract to them tropic configurations, either metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, or irony. In this research, I apply Jenkins' adaptation of White's model to the deconstruction of a series of texts pertaining to the 1981 Springbok tour. In my deconstruction I examine the author's ideological position, how they have troped the tour, emploted it, and the mode of argument they have sustained. Here, I offer an overview of each category and their respective components.

Ideological Implication

White thinks that there is an inescapable ideological dimension to every account of the past. By the term 'ideology', White refers to "a set of prescriptions for taking a position in the present world of social praxis and acting upon it (either to change the world or to maintain it in its present state)".[47] What this means is that historians cannot avoid projecting their ideological views of the present and the future back into the past.[48] Historians are necessarily 'present-centred' and they cannot help but "carry with [them] *into the past and back out again* a view which is not radically at odds with the way [they] read the present and the future".[49] Jenkins graphically illustrates the point with a rhetorical question:

> …could you see Geoffrey Elton ever writing an E.H. Carr history or thinking E.H. Carr thoughts on history *per se*? And if you cannot – and you cannot – then might

[46] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 174.
[47] White, *Metahistory*, p. 22.
[48] Phillips. "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", p. 29.
[49] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 163.

> it not be plausible to suggest that this has something to do with how they read the present and the future in terms of ideological differences that transcend arguments about evidence . . .?[50]

The ideological dimension of an historical account, White thinks, represents "the implications that can be drawn from the study of past events for the understanding of present ones".[51] In essence, ideology entails the historian's preference with respect to maintaining or changing the status quo, the direction that change in the status quo ought to take, and the means of effecting such changes. White identifies four basic ideological categories: conservatism, liberalism, radicalism, and anarchism. Each of these ideological positions can be discerned by the historian's views on social change, the optimal pace at which change should occur, the different time orientations of change, and the temporal location of a society's 'utopian' ideal. Again, reinforcing the present-centred dimension of history, White maintains that "it is the *value* accorded to the current social establishment…that accounts for the different conceptions of both the form of historical evolution and the form that historical knowledge must take".[52] He does concede, however, that often the differences between conceptions of what he calls social "congruence" and social "transcendence" are matters "more of emphasis than of content".[53]

The four ideological positions White outlines can be roughly characterised in the following terms. Conservatives are most suspicious of programmatic transformations to the existing social status quo. While all four ideological positions recognise the inevitability of change, conservatives tend to advocate it through the analogy of "plant-like gradualizations" facilitating a "natural rhythm" of social change. Typically, conservatives are inclined to imagine the historical evolutionary elaboration of the institutional structure that *currently* prevails. This structure is regarded as 'utopic' – it is the best form of society that can realistically be hoped for or legitimately aspired towards. Accordingly, conservatives offer the most socially congruent representations of the prevailing society.[54] It is necessary here to highlight that White is vague in how he defines 'socially congruent'. Accordingly, throughout this thesis I have treated this term to mean a state of harmonious social cohesion.

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[50] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 163.
[51] White, *Metahistory*, p. 22.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 25.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] *Ibid*., pp. 24-25.

Liberals are less suspicious of change (but more restrained in the means of attaining it than radicals and anarchists). They are inclined to view change through what White considers to be adjustments or fine tunings to society. As with conservatives, the fundamental structure of society is conceived as sound, and while some change is seen as inevitable, change itself is regarded as being most effective when "particular parts, rather than structural relationships, of the totality are changed". Liberals typically favour what White calls "the 'social' rhythm of the parliamentary debate, or that of the educational process and electoral contest between parties committed to the observance of established laws of governance".[55] In essence, they prefer fine tuning society to achieve moderately paced change but nonetheless emphasise the prevalence of continuities with the existing structure.[56] In contrast to conservatives, liberals imagine a time in the future when the social structure will be improved, but they project the utopian ideal into the remote future. Finally, liberals tend to view society as relatively socially congruent.[57]

Radicals and anarchists are more optimistic about the prospects of rapid transformations of society. Typically, radicals are inclined to favour structural transformations in the interest of reconstituting society on new bases and predisposing a significantly different future. Moreover, they envisage the possibility of cataclysmic, revolutionary transformation. However, radicals are inclined to be wary of the power needed to effect such transformations and are more sensitive to the inertial pull of inherited institutions. Accordingly, they are more concerned than anarchists about the means of effecting change. With their emphasis on rapid transformations, radicals are inclined to view the utopian conditions as imminent, which White believes "inspires their concern with the provision of the revolutionary means to bring this utopia to pass *now*". Finally, radicals are likely to see society as relatively transcendent which inspires histories that emphasise discontinuous change over the continuities emphasised by liberals.[58] Notably, as with 'social congruence', White is vague on what he means by transcendence. Accordingly, I use this word to represent society as dysfunctional and in need of transcending its current state to achieve greater social cohesion and harmony.

[55] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.
[56] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 172.
[57] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.
[58] *Ibid*.

White's final ideological position is anarchism. Like radicals, anarchists emphasise the need for structural transformations but in the interests of "abolishing 'society' and substituting for it a 'community' of individuals held together by a shared sense of their common 'humanity'". They also envisage the possibility of cataclysmic transformation but are less concerned with the means that might bring about change. Furthermore, anarchists idealise a remote past of "natural-human innocence from which [humans] have fallen into [a] corrupt 'social' state". Thus, humans must "seize control of their own essential humanity, either by an act of will or by an act of consciousness which destroys the socially provided belief in the legitimacy of the current social establishment". Unsurprisingly, anarchists view society as socially transcendent.[59]

Theory of Tropes

White's theory of tropes is the most difficult part of his model to grasp.[60] Thus, a few preliminary remarks about White's conceptualisation of tropes are necessary. Because history is not a science, and therefore does not have an agreed upon technical language, historians have no alternative "but to make the unfamiliar (and ultimately unfathomable) past familiar through the use of figurative language".[61] White insists that "the historian's characteristic instrument of encodation, communication, and exchange is ordinary educated speech".[62] As such, and because language fundamentally works metaphorically to make the unfamiliar familiar, tropic figures of speech are the only way historians have to 'figure things out'.[63] Accordingly, tropes are more than "stylistic embellishments", they are "fundamental to all historical endeavours".[64] For White, language is the only way through which we can address the past and "prefigure areas of experience that are cognitively problematic in order to subsequently submit them to analysis and explanation".[65] This means language is not an innocent medium for representing past realities.

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[59] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.

[60] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in History", p. 28; Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 167.

[61] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 167.

[62] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 94.

[63] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 167.

[64] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in History", p. 28

[65] White, *Metahistory*, p. 36.

Figurative language performs a framing function which allows the historian to contextualise the event under study by relating it to an imagined totality. Through tropes, the historian creates meaningful relationships by relating parts to wholes and wholes to parts. In so doing, White argues that there are four tropes embedded in human consciousness – metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. While metonymy and synecdoche are all forms of metaphor, they differ from one another in the kinds of integrations and reductions they effect. Accordingly, metaphor is representational, metonymy is reductionist, synecdoche is integrative, and irony is negational. These tropes constitute "one of the main ways in which ordinary language works in order to make meanings".[66] What this amounts to, according to Jenkins, is that

> if an historian has an attitude towards 'history' that leads him/her to favour, say, a synecdochical trope, then the way he/she will represent the past, the way he/she will 'figure it out' and shape it, will be to everywhere find particular signs of some type of overarching purpose or trajectory.[67]

In essence, tropes comprise the "metaphorical (linguistic) turning of one thing into another in order to create meaning".[68] Accordingly, in all historical narratives, historians "prefigure as a possible object of knowledge the whole series of events reported in the documents".[69] For this research, I analyse the troping process by first searching for the overarching metaphorical trope which represents the narrative. Thereafter – and because metonymy, synecdoche, and irony are all kinds of metaphor – I interrogate the function this metaphor performs in the representations of the historical field. In essence, does the metaphor integrate the field, reduce it, or negate literal meaning. White identifies four tropes.

Metaphor is fundamentally representational. It characterises phenomena in terms of their similarities to, and their difference from, one another. A metaphorical representation functions by asserting the similarities between two manifestly different objects but which are believed to have inherently similar qualities.[70] Conversely, a metaphor of metonymy works by reducing a

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[66] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 167.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 170.
[68] Munslow, *Narrative and History*, p. 16.
[69] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 167.
[70] *Ibid*.

whole to one of its parts.[71] However, metonymy only works if the whole is in some way identifiable with the part of themselves. For instance, White uses the example of 'fifty sails' as an metonymical reduction of 'fifty ships'—the part, the sail, being a representation of the whole, a ship.[72]

Alternatively, a metaphor of synecdoche works by integrating a part into the whole. White writes that "a phenomenon can be characterised by using the part to symbolise some quality presumed to inhere in the totality".[73] He continues: "By the trope of synecdoche…it is possible to construe two parts in the manner of an *integration* within a whole that is *qualitatively* different from the sum of the parts and of which the parts are but *microcosmic* replications".[74] For instance, in the context of 1981, David Williams' representation of the tour asserts that "if the Springboks had won the series, too much comfort would have accrued to the defenders of apartheid at home".[75] Williams' extract is synecdochic because he performs an integration by representing a victory for the Springboks (part) as a victory for apartheid (whole). The part and the whole are believed to share identical essences and therefore can effect an integration.[76] Finally, an ironic trope negates "on the figurative level what is positively affirmed on the literal level".[77] White describes irony as a "manifestly absurd metaphor designed to inspire ironic second thoughts about the nature of the thing characterised or the inadequacy of the characterisation itself".[78] None of the texts I address in this research are troped ironically.

Explanation by Emplotment

Emplotment establishes the meaning of a story by identifying it as a story of a particular kind. White believes that western histories typically contain one of four distinguishable plot structures: romance, comedy, tragedy, and satire. By fashioning their narrative into a story with a particular plot structure – say tragedy – the historian is effectively explaining the story in one

[71] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 167.
[72] White, *Metahistory*, p. 35.
[73] *Ibid*., p. 34.
[74] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[75] David Williams & Grant Harding, *Toughest of Them All: New Zealand and South Africa, the Struggle for Rugby Supremacy* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 122.
[76] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 167.
[77] White, *Metahistory*, p. 34.
[78] *Ibid*., p. 37.

way; whereas if a comedic plot structure is used, they would be explaining it in another way. White recognises that these are not the only literary genres which make up emplotment. However, because historiography is what he calls a "restricted" art form, "historical stories tend to fall into the [above] categories…precisely because the historian is inclined to resist construction of the complex peripeteias which are the novelist's and the dramatist's stock in trade".[79] For White, it is precisely because historians are not telling stories for "their own sake" that they are inclined to emplot their stories in the most conventional ways.[80]

A romantic emplotment entails a "drama of self-identification symbolised by the hero's transcendence of the world of experience, [their] victory over it, and…final liberation from it".[81] Triumph for the protagonist over adversity is the central tenet of this plot structure. Munslow believes that in western culture this kind of history unfolds as a journey during which the protagonist struggles to overcome obstacles but eventually is assured victory over adversity. The hero emerges as superior to their environment with "final success, redemption, or transcendence assured".[82] For White, these histories unfold as the triumph of good over evil, virtue over vice, of light over darkness, and of the ultimate transcendence of man over the world in which he was imprisoned.[83] In contrast, satire represents the complete opposite to romance as man is conceived as a captive of the world rather than its master and is permanently captured by harsh circumstances, destined to a life of obstacles and negation.[84] "[H]uman consciousness and will are always inadequate to the task of overcoming definitively the dark forces of death, which is man's unremitting enemy", White concludes.[85]

Alternatively, a comedic emplotment holds out hope for at least a temporary triumph for the protagonist. This is primarily achieved through a process of reconciliation; in Munslow's words "movement is imagined from obstruction to reconstruction, and the historian always hopes for at least a temporary victory over circumstances for the hero or protagonist through the process of reconciliation".[86] The seemingly inalterably opposed elements in the world

[79] White, *Metahistory*, p. 8.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] *Ibid*, p. 9.
[82] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[83] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[84] *Ibid*.; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.

operate, in the long run, in harmony with one another. In contradistinction, in a tragedy there are no festive occasions except for false or illusionary ones. White conceptualises tragedies as "states of division…more terrible than that which incited tragic agon at the beginning of the drama". Reconciliations are sombre and more in the nature of resignations to the conditions under which must be laboured in the world. These conditions are asserted as inalterable and eternal. While the result of a tragedy is death, failure, or defeat, this plot structure too hopes for "at least partial liberation from the conditions of the Fall". This comes in the form of a "gain in consciousness" for the spectators of the tragic contest and consists of "the epiphany of the law governing human existence which the protagonist's exertions against the world have brought to pass".[87]

Explanation by Argument

White's final category is explanation by argument by which the historian seeks to explicate 'the point of it all' or 'what it all adds up to'. Conceptualising argument, Munslow writes that "historians…offer to our readers more or less convincing but always commonly accepted laws of historical change or human behaviour upon which we all draw to explain events. These arguments relate events, people and actions by the appeal we make to our own thinking processes of dispersion or integration".[88] Importantly, White notes that the explanations by argument must be distinguished from the sort of explanatory effects which arises from emploting their history as a story of a certain kind. White distinguishes between emplotment as elements of a story (the historian's *narrative* operation) and argument which characterises the same elements "in a matrix of causal relationships presumed to have existed in specific provinces of time and space" (the historian's *investigative* operations).[89] While emplotments explain the process of development leading from one situation to another, argument explains 'what happened' and 'why it happened as it did'. White discerns four different types of discursive argument: formist, organicist, mechanistic, and contextualist. Formism and contextualism are the orthodox arguments in history.

[87] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[88] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 170.
[89] White, *Metahistory*, p. 12.

Formist explanations identify the unique, atomistic and dispersive character of events, people, and actions in the past.[90] White argues that a formist explanation is considered complete once "a given set of objects has been properly identified, its class, generic, and specific attributes assigned, and labels attesting to its particularity attached to it". For White, a formist explanation is provided once the historian dispels any similarities between the event under study and other events in the historical field. "When the historian has established the uniqueness of the particular objects in the field", White believes, a formist explanation has been provided. Moreover, a formist historian may be inclined to make generalisations about the nature of the historical process as a whole. For example, "the winning of great battles constitutes the origins of great historical change, or the special lives of great men/women are taken to signify the nature of historical change (overcoming social disadvantages to rise to statesman or conquer prejudice to become a race leader)".[91] However, rather than focusing on the 'ground' or 'scene' against which an event takes place, a formist explanation takes as its central inquiry the uniqueness of the different agents, agencies, and acts which make up the events to be explained.[92]

Alternatively, an organicist argument "attempts to depict the particulars discerned in the historical field as components of a synesthetic process".[93] Past event, people or actions are seen as components of a process which aggregates them into wholes that are greater, or qualitatively different from, the sum of their parts. Typically, historians who work in this paradigm will be inclined to structure their narratives in such a way to depict the "consolidation or crystallisation, out of a set of apparently dispersed events, of some integrated entity whose importance is greater than that of any of the individual entities analysed or described in the course of the narrative".[94] Unsurprisingly, historians working in this mode are more interested in characterising the integrative process in order to determine the end or goal towards which all the processes found in the historical field are presumed to be tending.[95]

[90] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 170.
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] White, *Metahistory*, p. 14.
[93] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[94] *Ibid*.
[95] *Ibid*., p. 16.

A mechanistic argument, on the other hand, "is inclined to view the 'acts' of the 'agents' inhabiting the historical field as manifestations of extrahistorical 'agencies' that have their origins in the 'scene' within which 'action' depicted in the narrative unfolds".[96] The historian searches for causal laws that determine the outcomes of processes discovered in the historical field. In this respect, the particular configurations of the objects inhabiting the historical field are thought to be determined by the laws that govern their interactions. Like the organicist, the historian considers individual entities to be less important than the classes of phenomena to which they can be shown to belong. White argues that a mechanist explanation is considered to be complete when the historian has "discovered the laws that are presumed to govern history in the same way that the laws of physics are presumed to govern nature". These laws are then applied to the data in such a way as to make their configurations understandable as functions of those laws.[97]

Finally, contextualism represents "a 'functional' conception of the meaning or significance of events discerned in the historical field".[98] The informing presupposition of this argument is that a subject or an object can be explained by situating it within the context of its occurrence. "Why things happened as they did", White believes, can be "explained by the revelation of the specific relationship they bore to other events in their circumambient historical space". A contextualist historian insists that 'what happened' in the field can be "accounted for by the specification of the functional interrelationships existing among the agents and agencies occupying the field at a given time". The historian does so by identifying events, people, and actions as connected to others in webs of colligatory relationships. In so doing, the historian establishes 'threads' which link the individual, institution or event under study to its sociocultural 'present'. In this respect, phenomena are characterised in terms of 'trends' or what White calls the "general physiognomies of periods or epochs". These connections are construed as actual relationships that are presumed to have existed at specific times and places. White believes that contextualists are inclined to view the 'flow' of historical time as a wave-like motion "in which certain phases or culminations are considered to be intrinsically more significant than others".[99]

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[96] White, *Metahistory*, p. 17.
[97] *Ibid*.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] *Ibid*., pp. 18-19.

Ultimately, then White conceptualises history as comprising selective, privileged and preferred renditions of the past with specific literary dimensions. Likewise, Daniel A. Nathan sees history as a human construct which he believes "challenges us to recognise the contexts in and purposes for which it was written. It requires us to be mindful that the past is in important ways lost and that history is always an account by someone for someone".[100] Just as ideology is time and place specific, so too are the historical representations that emerge during specific moments in time. Thus, the renditions of the 1981 tour must be seen as being embedded in the dominant and contemporary values held by the society and/or group from which they emerge. Moreover, as Munslow elaborates: "history is not the study of change over time per se, but the study of the information produced by historians as they go about this task".[101] I take this statement as the basis of my work. Fundamentally, my concern is not so much with the past as it was, but with the way in which the past is represented, written about, and constructed.

Critiques of Deconstructionism

Deconstructionist history and the philosophical work of White and Munslow has not gone unchallenged. Reflecting on the implications of *Metahistory*, American historian Gordon S. Wood believes that while it did bring to the fore the problems of narrative writing in history, most historians remain tied to positivism and have no interest in questioning the idea that history is anything other than pursuing truth. Indeed, in Wood's own view, "most working historians quite sensibly ignored the whole business of whether they were telling the truth or not".[102] Wood's response is common, particularly amongst sport history scholars. Despite pockets of interest in historiography, the majority of sport historians have largely ignored (or at least not actively engaged with) White, Munslow and Jenkins' critiques and continue to pursue objective, empirical, evidence-based and truth-seeking accounts. Question of method and reflexivity remain under-developed as the majority of historians in sport history journals are not engaging in historiographical debates. Reinforcing Wood's perspective and characterising deconstruction as postmodernism, the British historian and historiographer Alexander L. Macfie observes that: "the postmodern case against history seems, as far as one can judge from a survey of works of history to be found in bookshops, the lectures given at

[100] Nathan, *Saying It's So*, p. 8.

[101] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 2.

[102] Gordon S. Wood, *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 60-61.

history conferences and the popularity of traditional history programmes on television, to have had little or no effect on the writing of history".[103] While Macfie raises a valid point, there is evidence that deconstructionism has injected new ideas and discursive strategies into the field including sport history. American historian William Morgan acknowledges that postmodernism has prevented modernist theorists from becoming too set in their critical ways. Nevertheless, he cautions against what he terms a 'postmodern drift' and what he believes to be the tendency by postmodernists to junk normative evaluation and reasoning.[104]

For American sport historian Allen Guttmann, deconstructionists tend to distinguish their work from a caricatured version of modernist histories. What troubles Guttmann most about the postmodernist critique of reconstructionist and constructionist histories is that "the critics all too frequently quote naïve assertions as if they were written by reconstructionist and constructions historians…[which] in most cases, they are not".[105] Essentially, Guttmann argues that postmodern and deconstructionist critiques are based on 'straw-man' interpretations of these paradigms. By junking the normative evaluation of historical material, he continues, deconstructionists fail to recognise fully the critical methodologies already employed within the discipline.[106] For instance, deconstructionists assume that reconstructionists and constructionists approach archives as if they were 'sites of truth', but Guttmann argues that most historians tend to follow the position set forth by E.H. Carr that primary sources must always be interpreted because facts do not exist objectively and independently of the historian.[107] Notably though, Guttmann avoids the issue of narrative construction.

Critical sports studies scholar Andrew D. Linden provides similar critiques to Guttmann of the deconstructionist paradigm. Linden is troubled by what he considers to be overly deterministic dichotomies placed on sport historians by advocates of the 'cultural turn' as either "realists or relativists, postmodernists or empiricists, cultural interpreters or objective discoverers".[108]

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[103] Alexander Lyon Macfie (ed.), *The Philosophy of History: Talks given at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 2000-2006* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 14.

[104] William Morgan, "'Incredulity Toward Metanarratives' and Normative Suicide: A Critique of Postmodernist Drift in Critical Sport Theory", *International Review for Sociology* 30.1 (1995), p. 30.

[105] Allen Guttmann, "The Ludic and the Ludicrous", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25.1 (2008), p. 110.

[106] *Ibid*.

[107] *Ibid*.

[108] Andrew D. Linden, "Tempering the Dichotomous Flame: Social History, Cultural History, and Postmodernism(s) in the *Journal of Sport History*, 1974-2014", *Journal of Sport History* 43.1 (2016), p. 68.

"These approaches", he continues, "skew reality by putting scholars under overly determined and overly simplistic labels".[109] So too he expresses concern that the growing emphasis on following deconstructionist creeds has the effect of "coding different works of history as being of higher or lower levels of intellectual quality".[110] Responding to deconstructionist critiques by the likes of Douglas Booth, Murray G. Phillips, Richard Pringle, and Amy Bass that sport historians are typically methodologically and epistemologically unreflexive, Linden contends that an analysis of work published in the *Journal of Sport History* between 1974 – 2014 refute such claims. Rather, he insists that sport scholars are more aware of history as a "subjective process" than they are given credit for.[111] Linden cites examples of sport scholars employing sceptical language when considering the veracity of historical 'truth', an awareness of their epistemic foundations, questioned the meaning and validity of their sources, reflected on the constructedness and/or narrativity of their work, have tested and adapted various theoretical paradigm. Like Guttmann, Linden argues that the critiques levelled at sport historians from deconstructionist and postmodernist historians are based on caricatured representations of the field. Notably absent from Linden's analysis, though, is any reference to the lack of engagement from sport scholars with White's work or the literary and discursive dimensions of history.

A notable challenge to a postmodernist epistemology has also come from American historians Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margarete Jacob. Their 'practical realist' epistemology occupies the middle-ground between hard-line reconstructionists and postmodern approaches. While practical realists admit their personal biases, values, emotions and cultural preferences, they nonetheless insist on the application of 'qualified' objectivity to examining historical materials.[112] Summarising this epistemology, Phillips notes that practical realists "articulate a historical position" that is based on rejection: rejection of "the postmodern reduction of the

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[109] Linden, "Tempering the Dichotomous Flame", p. 68.

[110] *Ibid*. In particular, Linden comments that "explicitly theoretical postmodernists get marked as more sophisticated, creative, and insightful". While I advocate a deconstructionist approach in this research, I maintain that good quality research can exist regardless of its paradigm. Reconstructionist and constructionist histories give us great value: it is the reconstructionist forte to test the accuracy of historical facts, while constructionist histories aid us in understanding larger social structures which influence life. But with its literary and discursive focus, deconstructionism gives us a set of tools that are absent in these two paradigms. This does not make it a better or a more intellectually superior form of history, but rather provides us with an additional range of critical apparatuses to understand histories. If we want the fullest picture of any particular set of given moments or sets of questions about the past, we need to draw on all paradigms.

[111] *Ibid*., p. 69.

[112] Douglas Booth & Mark Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies" in Richard Giulianotti (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 158.

social world to language", rejection of "the cynicism and nihilism they perceive is endemic in postmodern relativism", rejection of "the primary focus placed on the role of the narrative in history", and rejection of "the notion of history as a form of fictional literature or that is history poetic or literary".[113] Instead, they advocate for the search for truth, even if it is not absolute, and maintain that there is a practical knowability of past reality. Narrative in this respect is always secondary to social, political and epistemological concerns of historians.[114]

Postmodern and deconstructionist history has also raised concerns about the ramifications of retreating from a framework which can evaluate the legitimacy of one narrative over another. For instance, in the context of 1981, many Afrikaners believed, and continue to believe, that the events of 1981 were a communist inspired plot which formed part of the greater onslaught against the western world. Their beliefs were shaped by an effective propaganda campaign by the apartheid government which was widely reported in the mainstream Afrikaner media. Can or should this version of the tour events be considered equal to that put forward by a New Zealand protestor who viewed the Springboks as the embodiment of a racist regime? Commenting on this limitation of the deconstructionist paradigm, Mark Falcous and Joseph Maguire argue that there is "a political danger in retreating from frameworks where certain versions of…history can be asserted to hold greater legitimacy than others".[115] In the context of late capitalism, they reason that it is problematic to assume that one cannot differentiate between the 'truth' claims of Nike marketeers and those accounts by sport sociologists on the company's labour practices in Southeast Asia.[116] Similarly, White was challenged on his position as fears arose that a framework which refuted singular truths opened the door to Holocaust-denialism. White's insistence that the past contains no inherent emplotment, that this is imposed on the past by the historian, and that the past can be emploted in a number of equally plausible narrative accounts has also led to questions on whether it could ever be possible that the Holocaust be emploted as a comedy.[117]

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[113] Murray G. Phillips, "Deconstructing Sport History: The Postmodern Challenge", *Journal of Sport History*, 28.3 (2001), p. 331. For a full overview of the practical realist epistemology, see: Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, & Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: Norton and Company, 1980).

[114] *Ibid*.

[115] Mark Falcous & Joseph Maguire, "Interrogating Sporting Pasts and Presents: Whose scholarship will count, and what will it count for?" in Richard Pringle & Murray G. Phillips (eds.), *Examining Sport Histories: Power, Paradigms, and Reflexivity* (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2013) p. 261.

[116] *Ibid*.

[117] Saul Friedländer (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 6-11.

Being a deconstructionist history maker, however, does not mean disregarding our ability to produce credible, intelligible, and fair history. While these methods are seen to open up history to extreme relativism and nihilism because they offer little by way of criteria for adjudicating the legitimacy or trustworthiness of one narrative over another, it is important to bear two things in mind. First, White's model simply highlights the very real literary dimension to history which every historian employs as they move text around to improve readability and enhance their meaning. Second, because White is not anti-referential and maintains that facts *can* be professionally established, he insists that narratives can still be "assessed, criticised, and ranked on the basis of their fidelity to the factual record, their comprehensiveness, and the coherence of whatever historical argument they contain".[118]

An obvious critique of using White's work is that his model is based on historical texts written in the nineteenth century, a long way from the twentieth and twenty-first century sport histories I interrogate in this research. Nonetheless, no one has yet conducted as extensive an analysis of historical works produced in the twentieth century as White does in *Metahistory*. So too, as Phillips argues, White's model is "valuable because it provides a substantive, working model of historical analysis" and "provides a template to compare historical works whereas other philosophical analyses are not as readily applicable to assess narrative structures evident in contrasting histories".[119] More simply, White's model works because, as he argues in *Metahistory*, historians are fundamentally naïve storytellers.[120] In his model he argues that historians typically work within one of only four modes under each section. Indeed, as Appendix One, a tabulated overview of the literary structures of the texts I deconstruct in this research, makes abundantly clear, historians tend to predominantly work in only two of these four modes.

On the other hand, White's model is clearly idealised. Rarely do the texts I deconstruct fit neatly into a single category. This is particularly discernible with regard to their ideological positions and the mode of argument. In representing the tour, these texts deal with two very

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[118] Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth", in Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation*, p. 38. White also addresses these questions more extensively in: Hayden White, *The Practical Past* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2014); "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses", *History and Theory* 44.3 (2005), pp. 333-338.

[119] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", pp. 27-28.

[120] White, *Metahistory*, p. 8.

different contexts – New Zealand society and apartheid South Africa. Ideologically, it is unrealistic to argue that the authors I deal with in this research would advocate for the same kinds of social change in New Zealand society as they do to apartheid. As a result, it is not uncommon for these texts to display two ideological positions. Moreover, White's ideological categories appear, at least in some instances, not to be mutually exclusive. This makes discerning and classifying differences subject to interpretation or authorial emphasis. For instance, when determining what White calls the author's "temporal location of the utopian ideal", he fails to precisely conceptualise the difference between conservatives, who view society as "most socially congruent", and liberals, who view it as "relatively so"; or between anarchism which is "the most 'socially transcendent'" and radicalism which "is relatively so".[121]

Nor are White's modes of argument mutually exclusive. Typically, contextualist and formist modes of explanation are most common. However, texts on the tour consistently display elements of both. It is difficult to represent the tour without considering apartheid which therefore become a critical context. On the other hand, the scale of protests and policing are often represented as a unique phenomenon for New Zealand, thereby tending towards a formist argument. While each of these texts contains a dominant ideology, trope, emplotment, and argument, rarely do these fit a single category in their representation.

It is also important to note that, unlike White's application of his model in *Metahistory* to whole texts, most work on the 1981 tour appear as extracts, sections, or chapters within larger narratives. My analysis focuses solely on how the *tour* is represented. In so doing, isolating sections on the tour may cause them to become at odds with the ideology, trope, emplotment, and argument of the work within which it appears. For instance, in Heinrich Wyngaard's biography on Errol Tobias, the section on Tobias' experiences of the 1981 tour are emploted tragically. However, if one extends Tobias' Springbok experience to 1984 when he is selected as first choice fly-half against England, the emplotment changes to a romantic one. Therefore, it is important to note that in order to conduct my analysis, I categorise extracts on the 1981 tour as the principal focus of this analysis. This does not seem to be at odds with White's framework as he concedes that, at least with regard to emplotment, historical accounts are

[121] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25.

"likely to contain stories cast in one mode as aspects or phases of the whole set of stories emplotted in another mode".[122]

Notwithstanding these critiques of deconstructionism, I maintain that this form of historical investigation offers important contributions to historical study. I argue that this research is significant as it furthers our understanding of history as a discipline, as well as forcing us to question the information that is presented as established historical knowledge. By implementing a deconstructionist approach not only do we engage with the past, but the historical text itself becomes a topic of philosophical investigation.[123] As Macfie suggests, contemporary history is still surviving in an older, more traditional modernist form. Indeed, practical realism is fundamentally propped up by conservative modernist and critical social and socio-cultural epistemologies.[124] By exploring the different narratives on the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand, I contend that deconstructionism offers a unique approach to engaging with the past.

While deconstructionism has been slow to penetrate historical sport studies, there is evidence that some of its ideas have begun to enter the field. Books such as Daniel A. Nathan's *Saying It's So* (2003) and Rita Liberti and Maureen Smith's *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph* (2015) have made valuable contributions to furthering this approach. Douglas Booth's *The Field* (2005) and Murray G. Phillips and Richard Pringle's edited collection *Examining Sport Histories* (2013) have argued the value of deconstructive methodologies for sport historians. Nevertheless, the production of such work has been few and far between, and more are needed to secure (and counter some of the critiques of) deconstructive history as a viable field of research, one which challenges traditional historiography and its methods. In applying these methods to a very specific sub-field of historical study, I seek to critically assess White's work and demonstrate its use for historians working in the twenty-first century.

In their attempt to retrieve the past, historians inevitably generate their own versions of the past. In doing so, the past becomes invented and reinvented through history, without ever establishing how it actually was. History should not be considered as solely an empirical search

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[122] White, *Metahistory*, p. 7.

[123] Frank Ankersmit, *History and Tropology: The Rise and Fall of Metaphor* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), p. 3.

[124] Booth & Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies", p. 158.

for truth about the past. It is equally a study of how the past is portrayed (constructed) in the literature created by historians. As Jenkins suggests, history is a discourse about, but different from, the past.[125] Moreover, no historian comes to data without some knowledge of a pre-existing narrative in their minds – they can come across fresh data, but it is always processed within a pre-existing narrative understanding.

Accordingly, and because deconstruction is neither a neutral nor an objective position, it is necessary to make plain what Synthia Syndor calls the 'seams of construction' in my work.[126] My approach to the data in this thesis is filtered through preconceived ideas about the significance of rugby and what the 1981 tour was about. As a white, rugby-playing South African male studying in New Zealand I likely have different associations with the game, its significance to both these societies, and its dynamics (particularly with regard to race) to someone coming from a different context. Like the authors who I interrogate in this thesis, I too hold subjective positions on the tour. While I try to hold these in check as best as humanly possible, they are most obvious in the contextualist form of argument that I employ in my periodisation of the various texts. I base my contextualisation on a reading of the material conditions in the various time frames under consideration: 1981 – 1986, 1987 – 1994, and 1995 – 2016. As White notes, contextualisation is always a matter of judgement that reflects an underlying political bias. In spelling out what I believe to be important material conditions which contextualise the texts emerging during these periods, my ideological position can be discerned in the events I highlight and the sources I use. I do not doubt that people can and will read the context of these periods differently to how I have.

It is also necessary to note that I have deliberately resisted specifically and extensively contextualising either the historical periods or the authors. Rather, I have attempted to broadly sketch features which *may* have influenced the form these representations of the 1981 tour take. In so doing, I have sought to avoid presenting the idea that there is an essential context which shaped narrative explanations of the tour. There is unlikely to be unanimous agreement on which historical, political and/or social factors have influenced the creation of the representations discussed in this research. In line with the argument this research seeks to make, it will always be speculative which specific conditions have influenced these representations.

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[125] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, p. 142.

[126] Synthia Syndor, "A History of Synchronized Swimming", *Journal of Sport History* 25.2 (1998), p. 260.

There are certainly some knowable features, like the collapse of apartheid which can be argued to have directly affected how apartheid-era rugby is written about, but there are as many unknowable features which have likely shaped these texts which may be unrelated to social or political context. While I do not doubt the impact of the material conditions under which these texts were constructed – primarily in regard to shaping the author's ideology and argument – it is speculative to argue that any particular material conditions are responsible for the forms these narratives assume.

Like all historians, I am ideologically embedded in a certain mode which leads me to interpret agents, agencies, and acts contrarily to someone with a different ideological mode. In the course of my research, on the back of dense empirical research for a MA on the same tour, I have inevitably approached the data with preconceived notions about what made the tour significant. Accordingly, while I employ White's framework, my interrogation of other representations about the tour is to a greater or lesser extent shaped by my own understanding of the event as inherently political, entrenched in the struggle against apartheid's abhorrently racist policies, but also exposing the vices of racism and patriarchy in New Zealand. As such, my evaluations of what I believed to signify, for example, a conservative ideology may be for someone else, who has different associations with and understandings of the event, an erroneous assessment of ideology. My status as an academically trained historian does not mean I am any more or less objective than anyone else who offers a representation of the tour. However, as Munslow insists, historians always have a duty of care not to lie about evidence and to make reasoned and balanced judgements, which I believe I have done. However, this is not enough: we need to know how and why we construct our narratives, as well as the effect and meaning of particular narratives. This research proposes a framework which may bring us closer to such an understanding.

CHAPTER TWO

Politicising Rugby: Activist Tour Histories, 1981 – 1986

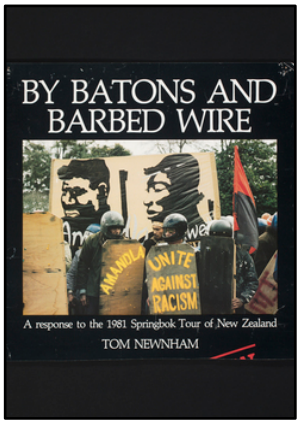
Between 1981 – 1986 a flurry of histories dealing with the tour emerged. Within three years of the tour ending, no less than twelve texts offered representations, seeking to explain it from the author's particular point of view. The vast majority of these texts have been authored by activists who were involved in campaigns either for or against the tour. The sole text to emerge during this period which was not authored by anti-tour activist is by Ross Meurant, who served as a member of the Red Squad, a riot police unit that frequently came into conflict with protestors. Unsurprisingly, Meurant represents the tour from a position which privileges police struggles during the tour and accordingly his narrative is vastly different from the histories produced by anti-tour activists. In addition to Meurant's *The Red Squad Story* (1982), I deconstruct Tom Newnham's *By Batons and Barbed Wire* (1981), Margaret Freeman and Rosemary Hollins' edited collection *Arms Linked: Women Against the Tour* (1982), and Geoff Chapple's widely cited volume, *1981: The Tour* (1984).[1] I have presented an overview of their tropologies in Table Three. While each of these authors deal with the same historical event, each text offers a more or less different interpretation of events which privileges their particular understanding of the tour. Notwithstanding their differences, these representations can be broadly characterized by a recurrent political troping of the tour. Moreover, if we proceed from the position that ideology is present-centred, the makeup of these authors' ideologies provides some insight into the contemporary material conditions that prompted action against or, in Meurant's case, defence of the tour.

Table 3: Politicising Rugby: Activist Histories, 1981 – 1986

Author(s)	Ideology	Metaphor	Trope	Emplotment	Argument
Newnham (1981)	Liberal	Solidarity; Victimhood	Synecdoche; Metonymy	Romantic	Formism; Contextualism
Hollins & Freeman (1982)	Radical	Feminism; Liberation	Synecdoche	n/a	Mechanicism; Contextualism
Meurant (1982)	Conservative	Celebration	Synecdoche; Metonymy	Romantic	Formism
Chapple (1984)	Radical	Martyrdom	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism; Formism

[1] Notable texts on the tour that I have not included are: Richard Shears & Isobelle Gidley, *Storm Out of Africa* (Auckland: MacMillan, 1981); Don Cameron, *Barbed-Wire Boks* (Auckland: Rugby Press, 1981); Ian Gault, *The 1981 Springboks in New Zealand* (Wellington: Wellington Newspapers Ltd, 1981); Geoff Walker (ed.), *56 Days: A History of the Anti-Tour Movement in Wellington* (Wellington: COST, 1982); Juliet Morris, *With All Our Strength: An Account of the Anti-Tour Movement in Christchurch* (Christchurch: Black Cat, 1982); David MacKay, Malcolm McKinnon, Peter McPhee & Jock Phillips (eds.), *Counting the Cost: The 1981 Springbok Tour in Wellington* (Wellington: Victoria University Wellington, 1982).

Tom Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire* (1981)



Veteran activist Tom Newnham drew on his experience as a protestor in 1981 to construct his representation of the tour. As secretary of the Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE) between 1966 – 1993, Newnham was described as the "most hated man in New Zealand" by rugby fans and was widely regarded as "the one man responsible for preventing New Zealand rugby players from locking horns with the Springboks".[2] Throughout the tour, Newnham helped organize protests around New Zealand and was among the protestors who occupied Hamilton Rugby Park. In his role at CARE, Newnham's focus was on race relations in New Zealand which led him to believe that "we are basically the same as white South Africans, just as racist".[3] Unsurprisingly, Newnham has a legacy of opposing apartheid, authoring several highly critical books, particularly on the implications of New Zealand's contact with South Africa.[4] An obituary for Newnham in 2010 noted: "[He] battled for…race relations and human rights issues, including prison and court reform, Māori language promotion, Māori land rights, the treatment of Pacific over-stayers, tenancy rights, and Māori and Pacific educational achievement".[5]

It is important to note here that Newnham's narrative is supplemented by a multitude of photos from the tour. My focus is on the *literary* constructions of history. Therefore, it is not my intention to unpack these images or engage in the extensive debates around visual sources in historical texts. It must be acknowledged, though, that these images are important as they too form part of a selective process to represent the historical field in a particular way. They drive home what Newnham represents as the reality of the tour, perhaps even more effectively than he captures in his writing. As Robert Rosenstone argues, "an image of a scene contains much more information than the written description of the same scene but also that this information

[2] "Man rugby fans hated", *Sunday Star Times*, 13 March 1994.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Some of Newnham's other works include: *An ABC of Racial Sport: What New Zealand sporting visits to South Africa really mean* (Auckland: CARE, 1969); *Apartheid is Not a Game: The inside story of New Zealand's struggle against apartheid sport* (Auckland: Graphic Publications, 1975); *A Cry of Treason* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1978).

[5] "Anti-apartheid fighter Tom Newnham died," *New Zealand Herald*, 17 December 2010.

has a much higher degree of detail and specificity".[6] These images, no less than the text, are filtered through the author's ideology which dictates what is included and what is not. They are not passive appendages to a narrative, but rather reinforce a particular representation of the event.

Unsurprisingly, considering Newnham's reputation as an activist, his representation of the tour is filtered through an ideology which endorses change. He conceptualised the tour as a fundamentally anti-apartheid endeavour which exposed, and was exacerbated by, New Zealand's domestic problems. In doing so, however, Newnham displays the idealised structure of White's model. In representing the tour in this manner, he engages with two societies which, at least in 1981, were governed by vastly different material contexts. These contexts require Newnham to offer two quite different forms of social change, radical in the case of South Africa and liberal in the case of New Zealand.

Predominantly, Newnham displays a liberal ideology. While campaigning for structural changes to South Africa, the protest movement highlighted the need for change in New Zealand, or so Newnham suggested. In this respect, Newnham represents the anti-apartheid campaign as a lens through which New Zealanders opposed to the tour looked at their own society. For example, reflecting on encountering the Red Squad with batons drawn, Newnham notes: "Now *we* are getting more and more like South Africa" [emphasis added].[7] Similarly, Newnham quotes fellow protestor Alick Shaw: "in Molesworth street police had behaved rather too similarly to South African police".[8] However, in response to what he believed the anti-apartheid campaign revealed about New Zealand society, Newnham advocated change which resonates with a liberal ideology rather than the need for structural change to reconstitute society as a whole. Rather, Newnham's emphasis is on certain problematic *parts* exposed by the tour: a conservative National government, (Pākehā) male rugby culture, and racism.

Critical representations of the state's response to the tour permeate Newnham's narrative. He insists that "nothing of real significance was being done to stop the tour" and that Muldoon had

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[6] Robert A. Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film", *American Historical Review* 93.5 (1988), p. 1177.

[7] Tom Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire: A Response to the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand* (Auckland: Real Pictures, 1981), p. 45.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 41.

dismissed his responsibility to the Gleneagles Agreement in a "crass" and "conspicuously light-handed way", having only given it "a ritual bow".[9] Like most anti-tour histories, Newnham suggests that Muldoon supported it purely for electoral gain. Moreover, he concealed his motives by appealing to the democratic rights of athletes and spectators, individual freedoms and, when protests started, the need to maintain law and order.[10] By ensuring that the tour went ahead, Newnham ironically notes, Muldoon's government facilitated "the greatest breakdown in law and order [New Zealand] has ever witnessed".[11] It was the heavy handed and "oppressive", and "unlawful" policing – "backed by the full blessing and resources of the state" he reminds the reader – rather than protestor actions which Newnham believes "provoked violence".[12] Newnham's representation of the state leaves the reader with little doubt that it sought "to ensure that the tour went ahead".[13]

Rugby culture and the type of masculinity it entrenched are similarly blamed for the country's ongoing "collaboration with apartheid".[14] Newnham's narrative contains few positive representations of the culture or its fans. They are typically represented as conservative, particularly those from rural areas. Quoting fellow protestor Tim Shadbolt, Newnham notes, "it's bloody hard to be a protestor in Hawera or New Plymouth or Invercargill", reflecting the generally strong support for the tour in provincial centres.[15] Similarly, Newnham links Invercargill's "deeply embedded racism" to support for the tour.[16] Unlike in the cities, he notes, the Springboks could walk around freely in provincial centres without fear of confronting protestors.[17] Newnham's argument suggests that protestors were predominantly urban, while provincial or rural centres, where the rugby club was likely central to communal activities, generally supported the tour.[18]

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[9] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, pp. 7-8.
[10] *Ibid*, pp. 7-8, 70.
[11] *Ibid*., p. 39.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 80.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[16] *Ibid*.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 50.
[18] While there may be some accuracy to this, Newnham is guilty here of perpetuating a binary narrative regarding who supported and who opposed the tour which does not give due consideration to more complex factors likely to have influenced peoples position on the tour. A rural existence is no more a marker of conservatism or racism than urban one is of liberalism.

A potent example of Newnham's highly critical representations of rugby and its fans emerges in his recollections of the cancelled Springbok-Waikato game in Hamilton. A common tactic used by Newnham (and apparent in virtually all the activist tour histories) is to vilify tour supporters (and police) and to link them with violence. Recalling the euphoria of occupying the field, Newnham draws on his literary imagination to amplify the danger protestors faced: "We've done it…now racism and apartheid and the bloody tour will melt away…[but with] the *bloodthirsty roars* of the crowd, the real grimness of it all became evident" [emphasis added].[19] Ensuing confrontations between rugby fans and demonstrators were the worst of the tour, and Newnham ensures that the reader knows it was the protestors who were the victims (this is reinforced with images). The "angry crowd emerged thirsting for blood" and "frenzied rugby supporters" attacked demonstrators outside the stadium.[20] "There was murder in the hearts of…the crowd," he emotively recalls, "and they turned first to those who had stood in the middle of the field".[21] "People were attacked by rugby thugs," he continues, and "many anti-tour people were besieged in their homes".[22] He cites Auckland Rugby Union Chief Executive and New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) councillor, Ron Don who urged the police and the crowd to "get into the bastards" (notably he does not cite a source for Don's remark).[23] He also publicises anti-Semitic remarks by rugby fans, likening the protestors' struggle in Hamilton to the plight of Jews in Nazi Germany. "Get the bloody Jews, get them", he recalls a fan shouting.[24] "It is significant that the ambulance attackers were screaming about 'Jews'", he continues, "because many people throughout Hamilton that night recalled stories of 'Kristallnacht' in Hitler's Germany".[25]

Newnham also represents the toxic masculinity he associates with rugby culture by recalling the physical and verbal violence that rugby fans directed at women. "Kill the bitch…we'll do her in properly", screamed a rugby fan at an ambulance ferrying away an injured female

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[19] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 30.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[23] *Ibid*.

[24] *Ibid*.

[25] *Ibid*. Comparing the plight of anti-tour people to that of Jews in Nazi Germany is a clear means of establishing a good-versus-evil dichotomy. Comparisons to Hitler and the Nazis are a constant theme throughout the anti-tour histories. Everywhere, Hitler and the Nazis have become an easy reference point to identify something and discredit it as evil. For more on this, read: Anne Rothe, *Popular Trauma Culture: Selling the Pain of Others in the Mass Media* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014), pp. 9-21.

protestor.[26] He includes a nurse's recollection of the event: "The sexual abuse was terrifying and what really stuck with us for months afterwards was the macabre laughter that went with it".[27] Recalling the test match in Christchurch, Newnham writes that "a middle aged nurse…was savagely attacked by rugby supporters and much of her clothing was torn off".[28] Drawing on his literary imagination, Newnham constructs a very particular understanding of events which meshes with his own experiences as a protestor.

Finally, according to Newnham the tour demonstrated New Zealand's racism. "[T]he tour brought a new focus for many New Zealanders on racism and cultural oppression at home", he observes.[29] He alerts the reader to this on the first page by insisting that the intensity of the protests was about more than apartheid, "it was an equal concern for racial justice here at home, and for the kind of country [the protestors want] New Zealand, Aotearoa, to be".[30] For Māori, Newnham continues, the anti-apartheid campaign presented a platform to challenge domestic racism, although he admits Māori "showed their bitterness at the ease with which Pākehās [*sic*] turned out in thousands to protest against the plight of black people thousands of miles away, but not about indigenous racism".[31] An image from the Gisborne protests captures this: a banner reading "Springbok – The Big White Lie; Amandla to the ANC-PAC (a giant swastika covers the Springbok)" is held alongside a banner in Te Reo reading "*Ka whawhai tonu matou! Ake! Ake! Ake!* [We will fight forever and ever]", a phrase commonly associated with Māori liberation struggles.[32] Generally, though, Newnham provides little empirical coverage of Māori engagement with the tour. Primarily he deals with Māori responses under the chapter heading 'Sideshows', suggesting he regarded it as supplementing the main anti-tour campaign. A tendency in anti-tour histories is to assimilate Māori protests into the general anti-apartheid movement. However, this denies that Māori had their own (but not unanimous) reasons for protesting against the tour.[33]

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[26] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 36.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*., p. 88.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 64

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 16.

[33] For more on Māori involvement in the anti-tour campaign, see: Malcolm MacLean, "'Almost the same, but not quite…Almost the same, but not white': Māori and Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1981 Springbok Tour", *Kunapipi: Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 23.1 (2001), pp. 69-82.

While Newnham makes a case for structural changes to South Africa, he considers New Zealand society to be more socially harmonious. Nevertheless, his representation recognizes that, while protesting against the material conditions in South Africa, New Zealanders uncovered some problems in their own society that needed rectifying. To an extent, he identified that some positive changes were achieved. Reflecting on the final test of the tour, Newnham concludes: "people experienced a sense of having achieved a turning point in the moral history of their country".[34] Consistent with White, Newnham's liberal interpretation of New Zealand suggests he believed change could be achieved through largely lawful means.[35]

Two recurring metaphors emerge in Newnham's narrative: solidarity (with apartheid and within the anti-tour movement) and victimhood. He makes it clear that the anti-tour movement showed great solidarity with the victims of apartheid. The first page of the book contains an image of "ordinary New Zealanders" protesting against the tour under the caption: "For decades, caring people have been in advance of the state in an informed, humane concern for the victims of South African apartheid. It was like this again in 1981".[36] This image arguably frames Newnham's representation of the anti-tour movement. Newnham represents the anti-tour movement as foremost a solidarity campaign with the victims of apartheid; he also points to the solidarity within the movement that presented a united front against those who both endorsed apartheid and collaborated with it (hence dealing with Māori opposition to the tour as a 'sideshow').

However, narrating the tour from the perspective of a protestor, Newnham also ensures that the reader is aware of the violence protestors faced in order to stand in solidarity with black South Africans. His narrative is saturated with recollections of violence, from police or rugby fans, reigned upon protestors.[37] However, equally important, Newnham presents the protestors as

[34] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 82.

[35] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 24-25.

[36] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 4.

[37] For an example of how Newnham constructs police as the aggressors, see he representations of the Molesworth Street confrontations: p. 39. Newnham's use of figurative language is highlighted here as it imposes a very particular meaning on police actions which are consistently represented through aggressive-toned adjectives: "brutally", "viciously", "crushed", "oppressive", "intimidate", "predators", "homicidal force", "unrestrained force", "rioting", "frenzy", "berserk", "attacked", "raging", "Judas-like", "full-scale assault". See: pp. 11, 80, 82, 88, 89.

renouncing violence.[38] For example, Newnham creates a highly emotive representation of a Gisborne protestor committed to the cause: "three hundred rugby fans pelted [a protestor] with every weaponry at hand – mud, bottles, beer crates…his eyes were bruised and filled with mud, tears streaming down his swollen cheeks…this was the ultimate, unflinching, *passive* committed protest…" [emphasis added].[39] Occasionally, protestors are martyred, as their solidarity and victimhood overlap: "They had come at some personal cost from all over the country to stand and perhaps fall for some ideal. The immediate aim may have been hopeless, but the cause was not".[40] Throughout the tour, protestors were "savagely attacked by police and rugby supporters" and "suffered heavily", and "the massive injury list of protestors…compared with the few police and no pro-tour people at all is proof of where the violence came from".[41] Newnham amplifies the suffering of protestors who pursued a just cause.

However, Newnham also employs metaphors of synecdoche and metonymy in troping the historical field. Conceptualising the anti-tour movement as an inherently anti-apartheid solidarity campaign is synecdochic because he integrates the protests in 1981 into the greater opposition to apartheid. He is able to do so because, as White explains the operation of synecdoche, the anti-tour campaign is fundamentally a microcosmic replication of the international anti-apartheid campaign and therefore is symbolic of it and shares an identical essence with it (to bring about the collapse of the racist regime).[42] However, Newnham's representation of how the anti-tour campaign unfolded in 1981 is metonymical. While challenging/ending apartheid is the principal objective of the anti-tour campaign and integrated into the larger struggle against apartheid, in New Zealand the protest campaign rested on different 'parts' which drove protestors: (domestic) racism, conservative government, police violence, male rugby culture, and (to a lesser extents) patriarchal gender roles and Māori liberation struggles. Understanding why the anti-tour campaign took the form it did makes more sense, for Newnham, by reducing it to its constituent parts.

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[38] This is a recurring theme throughout the text, as it is with many of the activist histories. For examples of Newnham's construction of protestors as non-violent, see: pp. 41, 79-80. He does concede that the "tiniest number [of protestors] engaged in violence", but importantly they are not inherently violent (like his representations of police and rugby fans), and their actions are always provoked by illegitimate police action. See for examples: pp. 79-80.

[39] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 22.

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 48, 89.

[42] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 34-36.

Newnham's narrative unfolds romantically. The tour is presented as a battle of good versus evil, with the anti-tour forces triumphing, at least in part, over apartheid: "The Springboks overseas was meant to boost the morale of the white rulers but instead it did precisely the opposite, it shocked and bewildered them, and thrilled the blacks".[43] Typical of romantic emplotments, the anti-tour campaign unfolds as a quest, tracing the struggles of the movement that encounters numerous obstacles – an unsympathetic government, violent police and rugby fans – but is ultimately rendered triumphant over its opponents.[44] For instance, despite the violence enacted on protestors, Newnham romanticises the Hamilton demonstrations: "Hamilton anti-tour people paid a hard price for the cancellation of the Waikato game but they were far from being cowed. Their rallies grew bigger and they mounted effective protests at every match till the tour ended".[45]

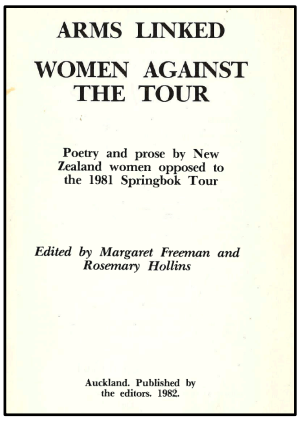
Romance can also be detected in Newnham's belief that protests had likely meant this was the last tour by a South Africa team while apartheid endured: "The tour had not been stopped. It had been forced through by batons and barbed wire. But few believe we will ever see its like again".[46] In this respect, the 1981 protests formed the climax of a lengthy struggle against New Zealand's (rugby) collaboration with apartheid. He speculates that 1981 could be a triumphant end to that collaboration. Newnham's belief (or imagination) that the anti-tour movement achieved a moral turning point in New Zealand's history similarly resonates with a romantic emplotment as protestors ensured at least a partial liberation from the world which gave rise to the tour.[47] In this respect, he represents the anti-tour campaign as achieving a victory of virtue over vice.

Finally, like many narratives of the tour, Newnham explains the event by drawing on a combination of formism and contextualism. He reveals elements of a formist argument by stressing the uniqueness of the situation: "Red Squad's entry began a *new* era in policing"; "the scenes…were *unlike* anything ever known in New Zealand before"; "the greatest breakdown in law and order…*ever* witnessed"; "the *biggest* police operation in New Zealand's history"

[43] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 5.
[44] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 169.
[45] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, p. 36.
[46] *Ibid*., p. 89.
[47] *Ibid*., p. 87; White, *Metahistory*, p. 8.

[emphasis added].[48] Notwithstanding the tour's uniqueness, Newnham sets it within the context of its occurrence and the relationship it bore to other events in its circumambient historical space. The primary context of the anti-tour campaign is the anti-apartheid movement. Newnham reinforces this visually and literarily: "the solidarity of human beings protesting against a great evil reached out instantly across the oceans and right into the perception of both the oppressor and the oppressed".[49] While apartheid arguably represents the primary context, the anti-tour campaign unfolded in New Zealand in a specific domestic context.[50] Newnham's storyline runs something like this: the anti-tour campaign developed *because* of apartheid; *because* Muldoon sanctioned the tour; *because* of domestic racism and conservatism; *because* of the predominance of rugby culture; *because* the police provoked violence. Each of these aspects provides a synchronic context for why the tour unfolded as it did. In so doing, Newnham picks out the various threads which linked the rugby tour to its wider historical moment in order to explain why it occurred the way it did.

Rosemary Hollins & Margaret Freeman (eds.), *Arms Linked: Women Against the Tour* (1982)


ARMS LINKED

WOMEN AGAINST THE TOUR

Poetry and prose by New Zealand women opposed to the 1981 Springbok Tour

Edited by Margaret Freeman and Rosemary Hollins

Auckland. Published by the editors. 1982.

It has almost become a defining feature of the tour that significant numbers of women were actively involved in the protest campaign, often being seen in the frontlines of marches. An extensive women's movement influenced by second-wave feminism had preceded the tour and threatened to unsettle the established gender politics in New Zealand. The scrutiny of rugby brought on by the anti-apartheid campaign meshed well with the movement's critiques of patriarchal and fratriarchal cultural mores seen to be perpetuated by the game's exclusively masculine doctrine.[51] In *Arms Linked*, protestors Margaret Freeman and Rosemary

[48] Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire*, pp. 30, 32, 39, 69.

[49] *Ibid*., p. 5.

[50] See, for instance, Newnham's early statement that the anti-apartheid campaign represented an emphasis on and a pursuit for "racial justice here at home" (p. 5).

[51] It is important not to overstate the role gender politics played in the anti-tour campaign. By suggesting that women protested against the tour to fulfil their own frustrations with gender relations in New Zealand undermines their protest for the liberation of South Africa. Moreover, as will become evident in an analysis of Charlotte Hughes' work in Chapter Five, the idea that women in the anti-tour campaign managed a reshuffling of gender relations in New Zealand has proved an attractive, but questionable narrative with little evidence to substantiate such a claim. See: Charlotte Hughes, "Moira's Lament? Feminist Advocacy and the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand" in Greg Ryan (ed.), *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854 – 2004* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 137-150.

Hollins edit a collection of anti-tour and anti-apartheid poetry and prose by women who were involved in the campaign. This is the only text to emerge from the tour to be authored solely by women, and to be about women during the tour. The text never went into mass production and only about 1000 copies were published. One goal of the text was to generate profit for the Demonstrator Defence and Aid Fund set up by Mobilise to Stop the Springbok Tour (MOST). The fund sought to assist demonstrators arrested during the tour with their legal costs.

This book is distinct from the other texts I examine because it consists of a multitude of contributors, therefore offering a different form of representation. It is not what White calls a traditional narrative with a beginning, middle and end.[52] Accordingly, the text as a whole does not contain a homogenous emplotment. However, as White points out, this does not mean the absence of a story; rather it is a story of a different kind, one that does not rely on a conclusion to explicate the 'point of it all'. Rather, the point of this story can be detected in the arguments it sustains. *Arms Linked* sustains distinct arguments: in their struggle against apartheid, the protestors define other struggles against a conservative government, racism, and sexism. However, an extract from Freeman captures what she regards as defining the text: "During the tour I saw the courage and commitment of thousands of women demonstrating against racism. For too long women's experiences have been denied, interpreted for us by [male] experts, our voices lost or unrecorded. Not anymore".[53] What sets this text apart from other representations is its argument that women experienced the tour in their own unique ways.

Despite its multiple contributors, *Arms Linked* can be deconstructed using White's model. While each author has their own distinctive ideology, a generally radical trend emerges across the writing. However, this is not to suggest that each author falls neatly into this category. Some texts reflect more liberal ideological positions. For instance, protestor Mary Baker concludes that "racism and sexism abound – we must be aware of it and keep on *educating*…the struggle continues".[54] While she isolates the two features which make many of these texts radical, her emphasis on education and continued struggle are typical of a liberal ideology. White identifies the educational process as a hallmark of liberal change, while Baker's projection of change into the future is at odds with the imminent change advocated in

[52] Hayden White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", *Clio* 1.1 (1972), p. 5.

[53] Margaret Freeman & Rosemary Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked: Women Against the Tour* (Auckland: Self Published, 1982), p. iv.

[54] Mary Baker, "From a Letter to a Friend Overseas" in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 31.

a radical ideology.[55] Generally though, what makes *Arms Linked* predominantly radical is that many of the contributors deal primarily with structural inequalities in society. Reflecting radical second-wave feminism, the principal critiques in this text are primarily about the unequal distribution of power across genders; they also recognise an imbalance of power in New Zealand's race relations. An extract by poet, Sue Fitchett, encapsulates how apartheid is interlinked with these domestic critiques:

> My political analysis leads to much of my energy being directed against patriarchal oppression. However, I recognise that all oppression is linked, thus my involvement in…the tour which I saw as much a struggle against domestic racism and a growing reactionary government as against apartheid.[56]

The target of the radical ideology in this text is male culture, its conflations with rugby, and the unequal patriarchal social structure it perpetuated. Male violence against women is frequently commented upon. Reflecting on seeking refuge from the rugby fans in Hamilton, Fitchett writes: "friends; in a brick house refuge; someone wants to kill us, rape us, oppress us; rugby above life".[57] Implicit in this poem, and the rest of the book, is that rugby fans and police are male and predisposed to violence: "the horror of violence; in other people's eyes; men's eyes mostly; rugby above life".[58] Peta Joyce echoes this sense of male predisposition toward violence: "I feel your pain; we are nomads you and I; walking this desert of men; they can rape beat and kill; yet they cannot take us".[59] Ana Te Aroha Meihana dedicates her poem to the "victims" of rugby thugs in Hamilton and proceeds to write: "And the cowards in the stands; Who poured sick hatred; Onto the women, the children and the wounded". She rhetorically asks: "To the cowards of rugby: Where was the real violence?".[60] Violence, particularly enacted on women (implicitly by men), recurs throughout this text.

Like Newnham, the authors typically dissociate protestors from violence. When protestor violence is acknowledged, it is couched in righteous or admirable terms: "Young beautiful

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[55] Baker, "From a Letter to a Friend Overseas", p. 31; White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.
[56] Sue Fitchett, "Hamilton July 25th", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 16.
[57] *Ibid*, p. 17.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Peta Joyce, "Warrior Women", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 18.
[60] Ana Te Aroha Meihana, "Hamilton: The 25th Day", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 1.

Māori kids throwing sticks and stones [at police] *bravely* stood their ground, but as we watched they broke and ran, before the wave after wave of riot police" [emphasis added].[61] Bravery is never attributed to police, who are overwhelmingly represented as thuggish purveyors of violence.[62] Margaret Mackintosh, for instance, deploys highly evocative metaphors of police: they were the "guardians of apartheid", "some relic of the Nazi", the stadiums they guarded represented the "barbed wire of the Auschwitz scene", and "their souls [were] a picture of fascism".[63]

Responsibility for apartheid and the tour are typically represented as male endeavours. Apartheid is commonly, and deliberately, represented by gendered language, perhaps to emphasise the dual oppression of race and gender for African women. For instance, Helen Jacobs refers to apartheid as "the words of the white *men*, the law" and "the words of those white *men*; sever, dark from white". She also depicts women as resilient: "The women stand with strong legs; astride the imagination of bare feet; in dust and a homeland; without men".[64] Emily Pace projects a more tragic image of women under apartheid: "I was constantly haunted by the spectre (reality) of a Black Mother and Child in Azania weeping – an image of unforgivable misery and sadness".[65] The tour is similarly linked to (racist) male endeavour. Te Aroha Meihana writes: "I feel [South Africa Prime Minister] Vorster's and [South African Rugby Board President] Craven's hands locked in a firm embrace; With [Police Chief] Walton, Muldoon and [NZRFU President] Blazey".[66] Similarly, Catherine Delahunty writes: "Muldoon or [South African Prime Minister] Botha, Ron Don or Danie Craven…association with these particular *men* is one of our worst human failings".[67]

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[61] Rosie Scott, "Travels in the Deep South", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 10.

[62] Similarly, rugby fans are described as inherently violent. These representations typically conflate rugby, violence, and rural conservatism. There are numerous metaphorical representations of rugby fans as lynch-mobs, while Rosemary Hollins represents the riot police as "boys, whose crass puerility would be at home in any small New Zealand town". Similarly, reflecting on her travels in New Zealand's deep south, Scott notes: "it seemed only a matter of time before the old farm pickup would pull up beside us with the rifle sticking out the window, the murderous smiling face. See: pp. 10, 25, 34.

[63] Margaret Mackintosh, "Guardians of Apartheid", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 35. As with Newnham and many of the other activist histories, aligning supporters of the tour with the Nazis is a deliberate tactic. More examples of this on: pp. 7, 40-41.

[64] Helen Jacobs, "Women Against Apartheid", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, pp. 36, 37.

[65] Emily Pace, "Rape Our Voice", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 13. Azania is the indigenous name applied to South Africa by black nationalists and liberationists during apartheid.

[66] Te Aroha Meihana, "Hamilton: The 25th Day", p. 2.

[67] Catherine Delahunty, "The Artists March Against the Tour", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 21. John Vorster (referenced by Te Aroha Meihana above) served as South Africa Prime Minister and leader of the National Party between 1966 – 1978. He was succeeded by Pieter Willem Botha, also of the National Party, who served as Prime Minister between 1978 – 1984 and as State President between 1984 – 1989.

Representations of racism similarly convey a radical ideology. In addition to the hostile representation of apartheid, the tour is presented as having exposed "the insidious sickness and immorality of racism" in New Zealand.[68] Pace dedicates a second poem to "all the people who have suffered, and are suffering, the selfish pains of racism in Aotearoa and Azania".[69] It is significant that Pace uses indigenous names for New Zealand and South Africa. In so doing she situates her poem within a framework of post-colonial struggles for liberation and sovereignty and against racism and oppression. Here the radical ideology appears in support of the wish to restructure both societies.

Similarly, Te Aroha Meihana situates her representation within the framework of a continued "fight for Black liberation in Aotearoa". She emphasizes the need for "radical change…in all areas of our lives".[70] For Rosemary Hollins, endorsing rugby and the tour was synonymous with racism: riots squads defended "the citadel of racist rugby" while inside "the howling crowd [was] cheering for white supremacy over blacks oppressed".[71] Despite advocating a liberal tempo of change, Baker too represented the tour as a racial issue: "[The tour] revealed a lot of racism in our own country. I am certain that many pro-Tour people…are also anti-Māori and Polynesian".[72] For Keng, the tour "uncovered" the reality of "racial inequality [and] sexual oppression" in New Zealand.[73]

These representations construct an image of the need for radical social change in New Zealand (and South Africa) to counter gendered and racial social inequalities which the authors suggest created the conditions for the tour. Patriarchy and racism are represented as endemic to the status quo in New Zealand and the reader is left with little doubt that change is required to reconstitute society and precipitate a more equitable future.[74] By endorsing the protest campaign, the authors are committing to a legal means of bringing about social change,

[68] Pace, "Rape Our Voice", p. 13.

[69] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[70] Te Aroha Meihana, "Hamilton: The 25th Day", p. 1.

[71] Rosemary Hollins, "The Christchurch Test, Inside", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, pp. 23, 25.

[72] Baker, "From a Letter to a Friend Overseas", p. 31.

[73] Keng, "Hooray! You've Come of Age", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 39.

[74] Keith Jenkins, *On What is History? From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (New York, Routledge, 1995), p. 165; White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.

demonstrating what White calls a sensitivity to the inertial pull of inherited institutions like the established laws.[75] This is a hallmark of a radical ideology.

As with ideology, there are disparate metaphorical tropes which emerge throughout the text. However, several of these metaphors recur, notably feminism and liberation (from patriarchy and racism). Typically, these metaphors are synecdochic in nature because they perform an integrative function, suggesting that the tour was symbolic of a process of oppression that extended far beyond the 1981 tour. Rather than reducing the event to its component parts (in which case they would be metonymical), these metaphors suggest that the tour became a site of social oppression. In the trope of feminism, representations of patriarchal oppression in society are frequent. Typically, violence (both sexual and physical) is constructed as a measure through which men attempted to assert dominance over women during the tour (and, arguably, more generally).[76] What Keng calls "sexual oppression" forms a significant part of what the contributors seek liberation from.[77] Baker represents oppression more practically when she reflects on "the number of women who say they live in male dominated rugby oriented households".[78] Notably, rugby is conflated with male oppression.

Equally prominent is the trope of liberation. Numerous contributors emphasise the desirability for liberation from "racism in our own country" and "oppression in South Africa", for "Black liberation in Aotearoa" and "oppos[ing] apartheid…until it is totally abolished".[79] Again, the tour represents a desire for liberation which extends far beyond a sporting fixture. To a lesser extent, there is a desire for liberation from an oppressive state, its "abuse of power", its "homogenised order", and "Muldoon's grotesque reign".[80] Riots squads are represented as fascist: "people who have never thought; Beyond their own front doors; Daily see the Red Squad on TV; And begin to realise dimly what oppression means".[81] Rachel Mackintosh's poem, 'Oppression – The '81 Tour', reminds the state that it will "never kill the struggle against

[75] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.

[76] For example, see: Joyce, "Warrior Women", p. 18-19

[77] Keng, "Hooray! You've Come of Age", p. 38.

[78] Baker, "From a Letter to a Friend Overseas", pp. 30-31.

[79] *Ibid*., p. 31; Winifred Robinson, "The Robinson Family and the Anti-Tour Movement", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 41; Te Aroha Meihana, "Hamilton: The 25th Day", p. 1; Rachel Mackintosh, "Oppression – The '81 Tour", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 27.

[80] Keng, "Hooray! You've Come of Age", pp. 38, 39. Scott, "Travels in the Deep South", p. 12.

[81] Hollins, "The Christchurch Test, Inside", p. 26; Mackintosh, "Guardians of Apartheid", p. 35.

oppression".[82] For Gaylene Jackson, to "stand with the oppressed" meant "being assaulted physically, emotionally, and mentally by the state forces".[83] In this respect, the metaphors of synecdoche construct the tour as symbolic of an overarching process of racial and patriarchal oppression.

Notably, the tour is represented as a liberation from ignorance. In 'Halcyon', Kathleen Mayson imagines an idyllic past: "We wore innocence then like a skin; and Homelands was a word, if heard at all; that sounded cosy".[84] For Hollins, "the Tour ripped New Zealand's nice mask right off".[85] Similarly, Fitchett challenges New Zealand's professed egalitarianism: "[the] myth of one people exposed".[86] Emily Pace too sees the tour as revealing the "big white lie" of equanimity and racial equality in New Zealand.[87] Te Aroha Meihana is the most emotive: "Aotearoa's stinking lid is lifted; Exposing the festering sore of blind hatred; Exposing the lies and gutlessness".[88] In this respect, the tour prompted New Zealand's liberation from a façade, exposing the society and revealing what these authors believe to be its true nature. As Hollins reflects in the introduction: "now we have seen what is underneath, what has always been underneath. Such vision is destitute without action".[89]

Finally, *Arms Linked* consists predominantly of a contextualist argument although elements of mechanicism can also be detected. A recurring argument throughout the text is that people acted the way they did during the tour, either in support or opposition, because of their relationship with patriarchy or hegemonic masculinity. This resonates with a mechanistic argument. Typically, this form of explanation identifies the "extra-historical laws" believed to govern human operations.[90] Throughout *Arms Linked*, agents – particularly rugby fans - are

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[82] Mackintosh, "Oppression – The '81 Tour", p. 27.

[83] Gaylene Jackson, "Red Squad Riot", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 43.

[84] Kathleen Mayson, "Halcyon" in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 9. Mayson's use of Homelands is a reference to the apartheid system whereby black South African were stripped of their citizenship and, based on their ethnic origins, were sent to live in one of the ten ethnic *Bantustans* (Homelands). This was one of the apartheid government's major tactics to ensure racial separation and keep South Africa white. Typically, the Bantustans had undeveloped economies and poor agricultural fertility. This meant increased Black dependence of white industries for income. These Bantustans existed between 1970 – 1994.

[85] Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. iv.

[86] Fitchett, "Hamilton July 25th", p. 14.

[87] Pace, "Rape Our Voice", p. 16.

[88] Te Aroha Meihana, "Hamilton: The 25th Day", p. 2.

[89] Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. iv.

[90] White, *Metahistory*, p. 17; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 170.

represented as acting the way they do because of overarching extra-historical laws like hegemonic masculinity to which rugby was central. Similarly, female protestors respond the way they do in part due to a desire to shake off deterministic patriarchal 'laws' which in turn justify their actions as they attempt to liberate themselves.

The anti-apartheid and the women's movements in New Zealand provide the primary contexts. For Fitchett, the anti-tour campaign is intertwined with apartheid: "the name of the game for some was rugby; for us it was racism and apartheid".[91] Reflecting on her arrest during the Christchurch test, Hollins links it to the injustice of apartheid: "our short-lived imprisonment - A brief experience of every-day; For black South Africans".[92] Mackintosh is more explicitly contextualist about her participation in the campaign: "during the tour I did everything I could to oppose apartheid and will continue to do so until it is totally abolished".[93] Similarly, Baker represents the anti-tour movement as "standing up for the rights of others", while for Robinson the tour brought "to the fore…thoughts of oppression in South Africa".[94] Jennifer Gladwin places the tour in the historical context of the victims and opponents of injustice: "In 1981 we have known what fear is; Have entered the hearts of the '51 strikers, the hearts of the Waihi miners, the hearts of the Jews, of Biko, of the children of Soweto".[95] However, as it is by now evident, domestic context is equally important to explaining the tour.

This text inserts a female voice into the historical memory and prevailing representations that situate the tour within the predominantly male domain of rugby. Even within the activist histories of the tour, women occupy peripheral status despite an almost equal divide between sexes in the anti-tour movement.[96] Feminism and the struggle against patriarchal oppression is certainly a central theme in the text, but it is not the only one. While numerous contributors focus solely on their opposition to apartheid, others focus on the dual oppression of African women by race and gender, and still others focus on state oppression in New Zealand.

[91] Fitchett, "Hamilton July 25th", p. 16.

[92] Hollins, "The Christchurch Test, Inside", p. 25.

[93] Mackintosh, "Oppression – The '81 Tour", p. 27.

[94] Mary Baker, "Saturday, August 15, 1981 in Christchurch", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 29; Robinson, "The Robinson Family and the Anti-Tour Movement", pp. 40-41.

[95] Jennifer Gladwin, "Hamilton July 25th" in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 34.

[96] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male: A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 262.

Patriarchal oppression may be a central theme and reflect the prevalence of radical feminism of the time, but it is by no means the only theme associated with opposition to the tour.

Ross Meurant*, The Red Squad Story* (1982)

Ross Meurant offers a counter narrative to the historical representation of the tour created by activists. I have included this book to demonstrate that representations of the past are seldom uncontested. Like most of the other authors, Meurant participated in the tour, but as a leader of the Red Squad riot police group. The Red Squad escorted the Springboks around New Zealand, guarded stadiums where matches were played, and, as a result, frequently clashed with demonstrators. Generally, Meurant supported the tour. He did not see a moral issue and "reject[ed] the assertion by some that New Zealanders should forfeit their democratic right to watch whom they like, play what they like, where they like in the interest of black South Africans".[97] Following his career in the police, Meurant became a member of parliament for the National Party. Unsurprisingly, his narrative is sympathetic to the way the National government, and particularly Muldoon, dealt with the tour.[98] Meurant agreed with Muldoon's characterisation of the protestors as radicals, subversives, and terrorists.[99]

Deconstructing Meurant's narrative reveals his conservative ideology. He represents New Zealand society as sound and advocates for maintaining the prevailing institutional structures. These, White tells us, are all hallmarks of a conservative ideology.[100] Meurant represents the Red Squad as defending New Zealand society from what he believes were subversive forces seeking radical change. At the heart of this, Meurant represents the tour as a struggle to maintain the rule of law and democracy. This is conveyed through statements such as: "the

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[97] Ross Meurant, *The Red Squad Story* (Auckland: Harlen Publishing, 1982), p. 36.

[98] Meurant believed that boycotting South Africa, and in particular, singling out New Zealand for playing sport with South Africa, was a "double standard" because "racial discrimination is practiced in many other countries" (p. 35, 36). This is verbatim the same assessment Muldoon offered of apartheid and New Zealand's international condemnation for playing rugby against South Africa. See: Barry Gustafson, *His Way: A Biography of Robert Muldoon* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), pp. 309-321.

[99] These specific terms suggest Meurant was drawing on an investigation by New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (SIS), commissioned by Muldoon, on the anti-tour movement. Meurant frequently cites the SIS report as evidence of criminal activities within the movement.

[100] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.

future of the rule of law in New Zealand depended on our performance that day. If we had not succeeded God knows what would have happened to our country. Democracy as we know it might well have vanished"; "the commitment of the [squad] was to endeavour to maintain an environment in which democracy could flourish"; "we would, in a disciplined, professional and positive manner, maintain the rule of law and defeat those who sought to bring anarchy to our streets"; "[Police] sought to preserve the rule of law"; "the anarchists, subversives and communists behind the scenes must have realized at that point that the impetus behind their movement had been checked".[101]

More specifically, Meurant represents the Red Squad as defending New Zealand's democracy from a communist ideology. "Communists, radicals and activists who were actively involved in orchestrating political discord and civil unrest," he insists, "took to the streets under the guise of protesting against apartheid in South Africa".[102] Meurant tells his readers that members of the anti-tour campaign "had more sinister political affiliations": "Alexander Shaw…is a self-confessed communist [and a] member of the Workers' Communist League"; "Penelope Mary Bright who acted as a protest marshal introduced herself at an anti-tour rally…as being from the Workers' Communist League"; "Socialist Unity Party man Bill Anderson – probably New Zealand's most well-known communist – also attended anti-tour protests".[103] "The type of civil disorder and breakdown in the rule of law New Zealand experienced during the tour", Meurant continues, "is a classic example of the manner in which communists operate in countries like ours which normally have a stable political environment".[104] New Zealand, he believes, was "the type of society communism is sworn to destroy", and Hamilton in particular had "exposed the reality of communism as a threat to the social fabric of our society".[105] Preservation of the prevailing institutional structure is critical to Meurant and police action was justified to ensure its maintenance.

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[101] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, pp. 19, 58, 76, 130, 132, 215.

[102] *Ibid*., pp. 169, 177.

[103] *Ibid*., p. 168. Feeding into Meurant's conservative ideology is the invisibility of whiteness in his narrative. Notably, none of the 'communists' he labels above are 'raced' as Pākehā. Race is something Meurant applies to people who are not white, and in so doing constructs whiteness as the normal and universal. For example, Meurant unfailingly 'races' police officers who are not white: "Māori Sergeant", "Samoan Tyron Laurenson", "Māori Mike Pakie", "Elu Elisaia, a Rarotongan", "Chris Bauckham, a young Māori constable". In so doing, he constructs whiteness as normal. For a more in-depth discussion on the ideological implications of this, see: Amanda Cosgrove & Toni Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves': Reading White Masculinity via Media Coverage of the Death of Sir Peter Blake", *Sociology of Sport Journal* 22.1 (2005), pp. 336-355; Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[104] *Ibid*., p. 173.

[105] *Ibid*., pp. 155, 171-172.

Finally, Meurant's conservative ideology extends into his representations of apartheid. For example, he draws on a conversation he had with Abe Williams – the Springboks' Coloured assistant manager – to make the case that things were not as bad in South Africa as the protestors argued: "South African society was more stable than the society of any other state in Africa…There was law and order in the country while in most other African states such fundamentals were words only".[106] This reveals both Meurant's ignorance of what apartheid entailed, but also Williams' relatively privileged position as a coloured man in apartheid South Africa. Meurant goes on to suggest that the contemporary conditions that prevailed in South Africa were as good as could realistically be hoped for. These reappear in his comments that "South Africa and Kenya are the only two economically viable states in the continent. As a consequence South African blacks and coloureds are overall the most highly paid blacks and coloureds in the continent and have a higher standard of living than most".[107] In the context of Africa, Meurant suggests, apartheid was not that bad.[108] He concludes: "Abe does want a vote, of that there is no mistake, but he is prepared to live under the present system and work steadily for gradual change. 'Evolution, not revolution is his motto'".[109] Such representations of apartheid are typical of a conservative ideology which promotes progressive and evolutionary change of existing structures and institutions.[110]

Meurant's conservative ideology hailed the police as the defenders of a New Zealand way of life. Metaphorically, his text represents a celebration of police efforts for what he terms "their magnificence under duress".[111] He principally represents the tour as a site where police preserved law and order by defeating unlawful, violent, subversive, radical, and, perhaps most importantly, communist protestors. The organisational ability and discipline of the police is a theme he frequently returns to, which he contrasts to the unruly behaviour of protestors. For

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[106] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 87.

[107] *Ibid*., p. 87.

[108] These sentiments also reveal Meurant's pro-tour position. A similar argument was used by the pro-tour, anti-boycott organisation Stop Politics in Rugby (SPIR) in 1984. The New Zealand based organisation argued that there was nothing "abnormal about South African society"; its "black people have overall, the highest standard of housing, education and welfare on the African continent", and they "live in relative peace with at least some degree of legal protection and franchise". Retrieved from: Letter from Elizabeth Sutherland to the England Rugby Football Union, 12 March 1984, Box: Politiek in Sport/Apartheid, Collection VII: SARR Sake, South African Rugby Board Archive, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

[109] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 88.

[110] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.

[111] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story* p. 'Dedication'.

example, recalling a police operation in Wellington, Meurant writes: "The protestors, who so obviously lacked self-control, were that evening privy to a classic display of discipline".[112] Such celebratory sentiments, tinged with bravado, litter the narrative: "Red Group…emerged as the glamour unit of the police with an impressive and enviable record"; "within minutes of our arrival the situation was under control" "our presence had an electrifying effect on all the police already present"; "our arrival was like a tonic. We were something tangible. We looked good. We sounded good. We were something all police personnel could identify with. We gave our fellow members great confidence. We reinforced their pride"; "our plan was relatively simple, as all good plans are".[113]

Meurant's celebratory representation has implications for his trope. The manner in which his narrative unfolds is metonymical because he consistently reduces the tour to a triumphant appraisal of police efforts. This further reduces the complexity of the tour. However, his insistence that the anti-tour campaign had been hijacked by communist protestors bent on destroying the social fabric of New Zealand society is synecdochic. Here he integrates the tour into the greater contemporary political struggle between the West and the East. The 1981 tour represents for Meurant a microcosmic replication of this struggle. The actions of protestors are represented as symbolic of communists attempting to impose their ideology on New Zealand.

Considering Meurant's celebratory appraisal of police efforts, it is unsurprising that his narrative is emploted romantically. The tour is represented as a quest against volatile and violent opposition with the police confronting numerous obstacles. Meurant structures his narrative in such a way that the police, by overcoming the obstacles thrown at them, are rendered triumphant and, in a hallmark of a romantic emplotment, superior to their environment.[114] For instance, Meurant recalls the police redeeming themselves in Palmerston North after they had failed in Hamilton when the game there was cancelled: "it was the protestors' intention to go right over the top of the police line ahead of them. At 50 paces Red Group got the command, 'visors down' and in one movement the protestors could see nothing but the reflection of the sun on the Perspex guards across our faces".[115] While the encounter is real, Meurant employs a highly romanticised literary imagination (he cannot know what the

[112] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story* p. 101. For more examples, see: pp. 52, 54, 99.
[113] *Ibid*., pp. 14, 61, 73-74, 121.
[114] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[115] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, pp. 49, 54.

protestors were thinking) to cast the police heroically. When the protestors did not engage police, Meurant concludes: "we had won…we had shown the New Zealand public that the police could deal with mobs".[116] Police victories are repeatedly emphasised: "Grins broke out on our faces as we realised the extent of our victory…the anarchists, subversives and communists behind the scenes must have realised at that point the impetus behind their movement had been checked".[117]

Meurant's narrative unfolds as a struggle between lawful and unlawful, with eventual victory for the former and defeat for the latter. He delegitimises the protesters whose violent actions he writes were unlawful and intended to inflict "serious injury or disfigurement" on the police.[118] Conversely, by "reassert[ing] the rule of law" the Red Squad are hailed for intervening in potentially life-threatening situations.[119] He frequently reports as fact the threats of explosives, Molotov cocktails, petrol bombs, and other incendiary devices that were targeted at the Red Squad. For example:

> we would always deploy in our greatcoats…on many occasions members were hit with corrosive substances and acids which had minimum effect on the person because of the resistant qualities of the material of the coats. The coats were also found to absorb and diminish the effects of blows from rocks, bottles, iron bars and the like.[120]

Rarely do these threats materialise in the narrative. Nonetheless, Meurant uses them to discredit the protestors as excessively violent and to demonstrate the dangers that the police faced. Through these dangers police are represented as heroically triumphing over protestors. For instance, recalling a particular confrontation with protestors, he writes: "the superior fortitude of the few overcame the brute force of the many and the tide began to turn with the relentlessness of our advance, shattering the resolve of the mob and precipitating their

[116] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 56.

[117] *Ibid*., p. 58.

[118] *Ibid*., p. 72.

[119] *Ibid*., p. 43.

[120] *Ibid*., p. 72. This section can also be read as a retort to the claims by protestors that police wore these coats to obscure their identification numbers when they committed violence against protestors. See for example: Geoff Chapple, *1981: The Tour* (Wellington: Reed, 1984), p. 318.

retreat".[121] In Meurant's romantic emplotment, the police are victorious over the protestors, maintain law and order, and prevent anarchy.

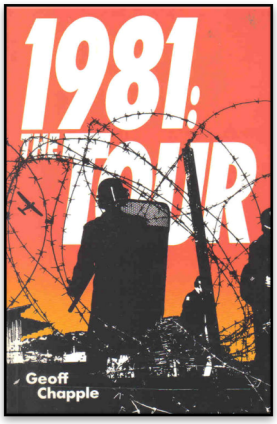
Finally, Meurant's narrative exhibits a formist argument. Rather than contextualising the tour, Meurant makes a point of highlighting those aspects which set it apart from other events. His representations of protestors typically construct them as unique, at least within New Zealand's context: protests were "far more formidable…than had been the case in the past", were led by a "new type of protestor", riots were "the most violent…the country's history" and "this was the first time [police] had encountered such protest activity".[122] His representations of the final test as "a day of infamy in New Zealand's history" similarly convey the uniqueness of the event: "New Zealand was going to have to suffer a riot of the size and ferocity that had *never been seen* in the country before, including the infamous Waterfront strike riots of the 1950s" [emphasis added].[123]

Typical of formist arguments is that they attempt to make significant generalisations from events.[124] This is evident in Meurant's reflections on Hamilton, which he presents as a source of significant change in New Zealand: "Hamilton too was…the catalyst which propelled New Zealand into the twentieth century. For too long we had drifted along in our own backwater, complacent and smug in the knowledge that we were one of the few countries in the world untouched by international or civil war. But Hamilton changed all that".[125] Meurant's representations of communism too follow a formist trajectory of making generalisations: "Hamilton also exposed the reality of communism…What had once seemed to exist only in the minds of men like Prime Minister Muldoon was now rampant in our streets for all to see".[126] In this respect, he generalises that the presence of communists amongst protestors was evidence that the tour was wound up in, and a product of, the greater struggle of the West against the advances of communism.

[121] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 132.
[122] *Ibid*., pp. 21, 29, 30, 215.
[123] *Ibid*., pp. 122, 126.
[124] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 170.
[125] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 155.
[126] *Ibid*.

Meurant presents his narrative as a counter to anti-tour literature and in particular criticisms of the Red Squad. He observes that "most literature which has been, or will be, written on the tour will invariably be written by people with a left of centre bias".[127] With regard to the riot squads, much of the literature casts them as machines that committed unthinking violent acts on protestors. Such sentiments appear in the works by Newnham, Freeman and Hollins, and Chapple. Replying to claims that the Red Squad was "an evil machine of terror", Meurant retorts that "we were human beings, not machines" and we were "just ordinary men and women".[128] He adds that while the police had "the legal justification to take offensive action" they "chose to restrict their role to the minimum, adopting defensive tactics only. We were not the aggressor".[129] This is in complete contrast to protestor accounts of police actions and raises broader questions about truth, and whether we can legitimately deem a version of the tour as more credible or accurate than another.

Geoff Chapple, *1981: The Tour* (1984)



Geoff Chapple's volume on the tour is one of the most widely cited representations of 1981. Like Newnham, Chapple protested against the tour and was amongst those who occupied the Hamilton Rugby Park field. Chapple received financial support for the book from MOST, Halt All Racist Tours (HART), and Artists Against Apartheid (AAA). While he insists these sponsorships were "without strings of any kind", his book reflects the strong anti-tour sentiments associated with these organisations.[130] He also draws on the work of other anti-tour texts. In particular, he utilises Geoff Walker and Peter Beach's *56 Days: The History of the Anti-Tour Movement in Wellington* (1982) and Juliet Morris' *With All Our Strength: An Account of the Anti-Tour Movement in Christchurch* (1982). The book's 'Historical Background' chapter draws on Newnham's *Apartheid Is Not a Game* (1975) and *A Cry of Treason* (1978). Veteran protestor Geoff Walker is the chief editor. Chapple's book is certainly the most extensive of the activist histories, spanning over 300 pages. He acknowledges that spatial constraints meant he could not capture the entirety of the anti-tour movement and that the text is therefore

[127] Meurant, *The Red Squad Story*, p. 156.
[128] *Ibid*., pp. 13, 14, 18, 59, 84.
[129] *Ibid*., p. 106.
[130] Chapple, *1981*, p. vi.

"inevitably incomplete".[131] This acknowledgement affirms the selectivity of the authoring process. Chapple notes that he was forced to exclude certain topics. Seeming oblivious to Freeman's contention in *Arms Linked* that women's experiences had been denied, lost and unrecorded, Chapple notes that he chose to exclude an essay on "the notable advance of women and women's organisations in protesting the tour".[132] Nevertheless, Chapple concludes his acknowledgement with an extract which seems to overstate the inclusivity of his narrative: "above all else, this book is a people's history of the tour, from the viewpoint of all those involved in the protest".[133]

Ideologically, Chapple's narrative is radical. He problematises New Zealand's status quo as divisive, strongly advocates the need to structurally reconstitute society, endorses revolutionary-type change, but also displays a sensitivity to the inertial pull of inherited institutions.[134] Importantly, Chapple's text, while recognising the importance of apartheid to the anti-tour campaign, reflects more on the ramifications of the tour for New Zealand society. By the time of the first test match, Chapple writes, the anti-tour campaign had "grown far beyond the original anti-apartheid issue. It now defined a whole belief system about what was right and wrong about New Zealand itself".[135] The tour itself exposed "all the underlying blunt force, the repression and nastiness of New Zealand society…a whole society fallen into swift disrepair".[136]

Similarly, the tour revealed to Chapple the "myth" of racial harmony and the reality of racism. "What if New Zealand's racial equality was a myth," Chapple asks, "a myth in the sense that what was true in parts was also amplified and given dimensions it didn't possess. Until the true parts glossed everything and the nation bathed in a mythic glory…".[137] This "sublime secret", he continues, relied on rugby: "a genuine equality opportunity did exist there. Māori and Pākehā ran together on the field, and for decades the myth had run with them. It was this image, perhaps the most important image of all, which supported the greater myth: New Zealand's

[131] Chapple, *1981*, p. viii
[132] *Ibid*., p. vii
[133] *Ibid*., p. viii.
[134] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.
[135] Chapple, *1981*, p. 186.
[136] *Ibid*., p. 275.
[137] *Ibid*., p. 5.

racial equality".[138] However, the myth is "betrayed over and over again" not least by the anti-tour campaign.[139] The myth is deemed hollow and its "chambers…vibrated with silent sympathy for the white settler society in South Africa". This, Chapple continues, "was easily masked by the myth – New Zealand as a nation of racial harmony and tolerance, with the prevailing belief in racial equality". However, "the anti-apartheid movement changed that. For one thing the Māoris [*sic*] within it stepped outside the myth, offering support to South African Blacks on the basis that Māoris [*sic*] suffered oppression too".[140] The tour revealed a "deep-seated canker" in New Zealand society that included "not just consent for the Springboks but New Zealand's own racism, its intolerance, its easily sanctioned violence".[141]

Central to Chapple's desire to reconstitute society and the status quo is the "moral vacuum" encompassed by rugby culture.[142] He represents it "as intolerant of deviance, instinctively racist, proud of ignorance which shut out the complex world. Male".[143] Moreover, rugby, racism, and rural conservatism are all linked for Chapple. In "provincial and small-town New Zealand…the Springbok spelled rugby fever" for the likes of the "rugby red-necks of Blenheim".[144] Hamilton similarly represents for him a town "stamped with that provincial conservatism, and rugby patriotism", while he recalls "a Canterbury rugby official saying the sooner South African Blacks went back to the jungle the better".[145] He draws on his literary imagination to liken pro-tour supporters to the Ku Klux Klan: "The pro-tour posters went up in Dunedin overnight with the hooded figure in white, and the burning cross".[146] Chapple's

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[138] Chapple, *1981*, p. 6.

[139] *Ibid*., p. 28. For more on the foundational narratives about New Zealand society, particularly those that have been constructed around sport, read: Malcolm MacLean, "New Zealand (Aotearoa)", in S.W. Pope & John Nauright (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Sports History* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[140] *Ibid*., pp. 9-10.

[141] *Ibid*., p. 277.

[142] *Ibid*., p. 89. It is important to note that Chapple goes out of his way to ensure the reader knows that the anti-tour movement was not anti-rugby per se, something they were accused of by tour supporters. On the contrary, he informs readers that prominent anti-tour activists John Minto, Pat McQuarrie, and Marx Jones had been rugby coaches and that former All Blacks Ken Gray and Bob Burgess were also involved in the anti-tour movement. See: pp. 12, 20, 77, 81.

[143] *Ibid*., p. 241. Chapple very briefly deals with female involvement in the tour, noting that male rugby culture was entrenched with the subjugation of women. He writes that: "equality was woman's fight and it offered a natural alliance against apartheid. Women had fought subjugation by law for 100 years. They'd fought subjugation by custom and culture for the past 10, full-on. Within New Zealand, the whole rugby culture was part of that, heightened by the tour issue into a straight challenge on many fronts" (p. 83).

[144] *Ibid*., pp. 17, 22

[145] *Ibid*., pp. 23, 79.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

representation of rugby culture attempts to convey New Zealand society in a state of moral decay.

Accordingly, he endows the anti-tour campaign with revolutionary qualities and the protestors attempting to establish a more just and equitable society. Reflecting on Hamilton, he notes: "Arrest! It was no threat at all. Still the old rules which didn't apply to a new and revolutionary situation".[147] The revolution similarly encompasses the liberation from "totalitarian" and "corrupt government power" in New Zealand: protestors defied "a government which for years had suppressed even the polite expression of the ideals and energies now bursting onto the streets".[148] Typical of a radical ideology, Chapple's represents revolutionary change as imminent.[149] "New Zealand…was no longer fixed in the old stagnant way", he observes, "after all the years of Muldoon, the country was experiencing something like a blowout – a vast escape of energy repressed for too long. The process was almost joyful".[150] The country was "rapidly becoming an alternative society".[151] Compounding this is a representation of pro-tour supporters as belonging to an older, more conservative world which was being left behind. Riot police are represented as "angels of the true world which pro-tour people still wanted to believe in" while rugby fans "were still functioning under the old rules".[152] Despite the revolutionary process Chapple ascribes to the anti-tour campaign, he is at pains to demonstrate that protestors did not commit violence (unlike Meurant's representation of them as excessively violent).[153] Protestors, according to Chapple, did not descend into anarchy, but remained within the lawful parameters of acceptable demonstrations, thus displaying what White calls a sensitivity to inherited institutions common amongst radicals.[154]

Chapple metaphorically represents protestors as martyrs who placed their beliefs above physical safety. He consistently characterises the tour as excessively violent, even describing it as cataclysmic.[155] A great deal of the narrative recounts what he portrays as gratuitous

[147] Chapple, *1981*, p. 95.
[148] *Ibid*., pp. 62, 129-131, 165.
[149] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25.
[150] Chapple, *1981*, p. 170.
[151] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[152] *Ibid*., pp. 87, 94.
[153] *Ibid*., pp. 34, 72, 116, 137, 186, 190, 246.
[154] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25.
[155] Chapple, *1981*, pp. 60, 186, 238, 239.

violence against protestors who were committed to staying within the parameters of the law. Like Newnham and some of the contributors to *Arms Linked*, Chapple utilises terminology associated with World War Two and Nazi Germany to highlight the hardships faced by protestors. Along with describing the attacks on protestors in Hamilton as a "*blitzkrieg*" by rugby supporters, he offers a more sinister representation:

> There was an easy historical analogy from European history – the pogrom of November 10, 1938, which marked an open Nazi onslaught on the synagogues, homes and shops of the German Jews, named after the sound of breaking glass, *Kristallnacht*. You didn't want to exaggerate, but there was an echo of that in New Zealand on July 25, 1981.[156]

By metaphorically aligning Hamilton protestors with the experience of German Jews, Chapple accentuates the danger he believes they faced. In so doing, he also accentuates their martyrdom: "The talk was of protest law-breaking, not the huge violence to which it was right then victim. To which it would go on being victim, driven by principle it could yield perhaps to death".[157] Strictly speaking, martyrdom imparts dying for one's beliefs. While no deaths occurred during the protests, Chapple represents it as a constant possibility for protestors, particularly in Hamilton where "with every piece of wood and every bottle swung…death swung with it as a statistical chance".[158] Similarly, he consistently uses emotive language to accentuate, perhaps even exaggerate, the violence which was enacted upon protestors by police "butchers" who whipped their "batons back and forth like slashers".[159] Despite the potentially fatal violence to which Chapple believes protestors were subject, he represents their motives as "pure and patriotic" as they "march[ed] through an eight-week gauntlet. New Zealand's fundamental social hatreds on one side. State violence on the other. Beaten with fists and sticks, but the compulsions of their ideals had pushed them through".[160] In so doing, he casts the protestors as having stood up for their beliefs – both against apartheid and for New Zealand – all while risking physical harm, even death.

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[156] Chapple, *1981*, pp. 116, 118.

[157] *Ibid*., p. 130.

[158] For more examples of Chapple's belief that protestors risked death, see: pp. 86, 92, 93, 100, 101, 106, 113, 114, 117.

[159] For more examples of emotive representations of police violence, see: pp. 146, 204, 213, 214, 248, 305, 309.

[160] Chapple, *1981*, p. 311. For more representations of protestors' patriotism, see: pp. 37, 83, 89, 96.

Chapple employs metonymy in his representations. While the liberation of South Africa is important for him, the narrative primarily deals with the implications of the tour for New Zealand. Accordingly, he dissects the tour into its component parts in New Zealand: a conservative and authoritarian government which sought to protect itself over its citizens, narratives about racial harmony which concealed support for apartheid, and an intolerant rugby culture which privileged rurality, masculinity, and sanctioned violence. These parts provide the central way through which Chapple made sense of the whole (the tour). He uses them to explain why the protestors responded with such intensity to the tour, and to delegitimise those who supported the tour. Reducing the tour to its component parts also demonstrates the complexity of 1981 and that the issues extended beyond protesting against apartheid.

Chapple's narrative is emploted romantically and can be reduced to a good-versus-evil dichotomy.[161] The anti-tour campaign represents the moral high-ground, responding "to a call for action against apartheid, which was the most efficient form of structured inequality the world had seen since the Nazis".[162] Conversely, he represents Muldoon's government as "evil", "corrupt", and with "blood on its hands".[163] The narrative unfolds as a struggle between the "two poles of patriotism [with] the Prime Minister at one [and] CARE and HART…at the other".[164] It is the anti-tour movement, however, which is represented as triumphant. Reflecting on the final clash with police in Auckland, Chapple writes that "[protestors] were triumphant. The tour had gone through, but they'd raised the biggest anti-apartheid protest the world had seen outside South Africa. They'd turned the tour into Springbok embarrassment before the world".[165]

Despite emphasising the suffering of demonstrators, Chapple's narrative unfolds romantically as a drama of self-identification through which protestors attempted to establish New Zealand's moral values.[166] He believes that protestors had "raised the tour opposition with a high vision of what New Zealand could be and with thousands had battled for it finally in the streets".[167]

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[161] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[162] Chapple, *1981*, p. 76.
[163] *Ibid*., pp. 130-131.
[164] *Ibid*., p. 28.
[165] *Ibid*., p. 311-312.
[166] White, *Metahistory*, p. 8.
[167] Chapple, *1981*, p. 311.

The anti-tour movement is represented as progressive, struggling against the outdated views of the world which facilitated the tour. He encapsulates this when he writes "the New Zealand past and future would clash".[168] It is notable that, despite being on opposite ends of the spectrum, Chapple and Meurant both see themselves as victors. While both engaged in the same historical event, their experiences and interpretations of it are radically different. This lends credibility to White's contention that the past does not conform to a pre-existing emplotment, for although they display the same emplotment, it is reached through radically different experiences.

Finally, Chapple's narrative prominently displays elements of both a contextualist and formist argument. The inescapable context, as is the case in all the activist histories, is apartheid. Chapple's 'Historical Background' chapter is riddled with contextualist explanations entangling apartheid with the tour. He traces the origins of organised hostility towards South Africa back more than two decades: "CABTA? 1959? You had to go that far back to understand the genesis of the movement and the grip which South Africa had exerted, for years, on New Zealand politics".[169] Similarly, he attributes much of the intensity of the anti-tour campaign in 1981to lingering anger from the 1976 All Black tour to South Africa which took place shortly after the Soweto uprising: "Nineteen seventy-six was a very emotional year for New Zealand. Much later, during the 1981 Springbok tour, people wondered where the energy came from that suddenly exploded onto the streets…A lot of it began in 1976".[170] Chapple also suggests that the death of black South African activist, Steve Biko, at the hands of the apartheid police on 12 September 1977 helped galvanise opposition towards the tour: "almost daily after September 12, community leaders of all types came out against the tour".[171] Likewise, Chapple's metonymical reduction of the tour points strongly to a domestic context of dissatisfaction with the prevailing institutional structure of New Zealand. These are all examples of what White calls colligatory threads, which authors draw on to offer explanations for why events occur by linking them to their sociocultural and historical present.[172]

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[168] Chapple, *1981*, p. 59.

[169] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[170] *Ibid.*, p. 23. Soweto is one of the largest townships in South Africa. On 16 June 1976, students from the township protested against the apartheid state's enactment of compulsory tuition in Afrikaans in all schools. Police opened fire on the students, killing 176 (some estimates put the total number of deaths closer to 700) and injuring nearly 4000. The event was highly publicised internationally – including in New Zealand – and is thought to have been the event which signalled the beginning of apartheid's collapse.

[171] *Ibid*., p. 32.

[172] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18.

Notwithstanding this contextualisation, Chapple characterises the tour in a manner which resonates with formism by frequently stressing the uniqueness of the situation: the anti-tour campaign was "of a size and style New Zealand hadn't witnessed before" and represented the "greatest civil disturbance New Zealand has known".[173] His final remark encapsulates his formism: "an expression of state power the country hadn't seen since the depression riots or the 1951 waterfront strike. In fact in 1981 it was far more widespread and more extensively observed than in either of those events".[174] In short, Chapple's explanation of the tour highlights that which set it apart from any other event. It cannot be explained by any preconceived historical laws and dispels any similarities.[175]

Conclusion

My concern in this chapter has not been to interrogate the empirical accuracy about representations of the tour, but rather how the event has been written about. To make sense of the texts in this chapter, it is worth briefly considering the 1950 Japanese film, *Rashōmon*, as it contains noteworthy parallels to how these authors have approached the tour. Moreover, in *Rashōmon* we find the antecedents of the cultural turn that precipitated deconstructionism.[176] The film is best known for its distinctive plot structure: upon discovering a dead Samurai in a forest, the various characters connected to the incident recount what happened. However, despite all being involved some way or another in the same event, the stories they tell are subjective, alternate, self-serving and even contradictory, the implication being that the 'true' sequences of events are unknown.

The film represents a potent metaphor for the texts in this chapter and, as intimated above, a deconstructionist approach to history more generally. In explaining the 1981 tour, each of the authors and contributors in this chapter display the *Rashōmon*-effect: their texts are highly subjective, they recount what they believe to have been the 'true' events of the tour but in a manner which maligns those who they believe were wrong while simultaneously providing self-serving justifications for their own positions. Because these texts are so disparate, they

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[173] For more examples of Chapple's formism, see: pp. viii, 77, 117, 124, 163, 312.

[174] Chapple, *1981*, p. 320.

[175] White, *Metahistory*, p. 14.

[176] David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 42.

most clearly demonstrate White's central argument: that there is a literary component to writing about the past and that narrative is a tool that imposes meaning on the past. Rather than the past conforming to a pre-existing narrative structure, this is imposed by the author in order to create a particular understanding of events.[177]

Ultimately, the ideologies of the authors I address here lead them to interpret the tour in a particular and conflicting way. For Newnham and Chapple, the tour is about protesting apartheid and the ills of New Zealand society which they believe the tour facilitated, whereas for Meurant it is about maintaining the prevailing social structure and defending it from radical change. Conversely, the contributors in Freeman and Hollins emphasise the liberation from patriarchal oppression, hegemonic masculinity, and racism in New Zealand and South Africa. However, the disparities in how these texts choose to represent the tour does not undermine the overarching political trope. In Chapple, Newnham, and Hollins and Freeman rugby is politicised; Meurant holds on to the idea of apoliticised sport although he constructs the tour as political through his sense of duty to preserve democracy from the threat of anarchistic protestors.

Importantly, Meurant's text also demonstrates that the dominant narrative represented by the activist histories was not the only narrative about the tour. The dominant narrative may be the popular version during this epoch, but as Meurant reminds us, it was not the sole history. So too, there are other instances which complicate the representation the tour. Arguably, the activist histories operate largely by creating binaries to sustain their argument: rurality meant being conservative, racist, and pro-tour; belonging to New Zealand's National Party meant endorsing Muldoon and the tour; supporting rugby was tantamount to supporting apartheid, racism, and ascribing to a particular brand of masculinity; men endorsed the tour, women did not.

However, the tour is infinitely more complex than this representation allows. For instance, Riemke Ensing recalls an elderly woman denouncing the protestors: "Oh, they're wicked. That's what's wrong with this country…young thugs, they are. Vandals."[178] Regardless of its intentions, this extract complicates the notion that there existed some homogenous desire

[177] White, *Metahistory*, p. ix; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 150.
[178] Riemke Ensing, "Fragments/Notes from diaries/Photographs", in Freeman & Hollins (eds.), *Arms Linked*, p. 7.

amongst women to challenge prevailing gender relations by protesting against a rugby tour and its associated culture. So too, Winifred Robinson recalls that her "only son who is anti-tour gave us a good donation for MOST yet still bought a ticket for the last test".[179] This blurs the boundaries these histories erect between supporting rugby and opposing the tour for moral reasons. These activist histories are guilty of simplifying the tour in order to sustain their arguments. In the following chapters, I apply the same analysis to books which emerged after 1986 and demonstrate how narratives around the tour shifted and changed.

[179] Robinson, "The Robinson Family and the Anti-Tour Movement", p. 41

CHAPTER THREE

Rehabilitating and Depoliticising Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1987 – 1994

In Chapter Two, I deconstructed a set of texts that represented the 1981 tour as a series of issues that concerned racism, gender inequalities, conservatism, male rugby culture, and the place and propriety of violence in New Zealand society. Rugby, critics argued, reinforced these features of society while perpetuating the notion of inclusiveness. Between 1987 – 1994, however, activist histories on the tour all but vanished. In their place was a resurgence of what I call here 'popular' rugby histories.[1] Following the generally unpopular and illegitimate 1986 Cavaliers 'rebel' tour of South Africa[2], a notable trend of rehabilitating the image of the game emerges in popular rugby writing. These representations of rugby tend to be characterised by celebratory, apolitical, and ahistorical tropes. In this chapter, I deconstruct four such representations of the tour: Don Cameron's "Political Football" (1989), Rod Chester and Neville McMillan's *The Visitors* (1990), Graham Hutchins' *Magic Matches* (1991), and Graeme Barrow's *All Blacks versus Springboks* (1992).[3] Typically, these representations of the tour appear to be influenced by certain material conditions and contexts which are worth brief consideration.

In the wake of the 1981 tour, rugby's place in New Zealand was somewhat unstable. Many parents and teachers refused to let children play the game and declined to involve themselves

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[1] This genre has historically made up the sporting canon in New Zealand and has contributed significantly to attaching rugby to national self-esteem. Ryan and Watson note the proliferation in these types of texts in the two decades follow World War Two, a trend which extended in the 1970s. There is, however, a notable absence in these texts between 1981-1986, perhaps reflecting the generally unstable position rugby held in national imaginary in the wake of the 1981 tour. See: Greg Ryan & Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), pp. 202-203.

[2] Following the cancelation of the 1985 All Black tour of South Africa, an illegitimate tour was arranged in secret by the players for the following year. With the exception of John Kirwan and David Kirk, all the players selected for the 1985 tour left for South Africa in April 1986, supposedly without the knowledge of the NZRFU or the IRB. The team was coached and manged by former All Blacks Colin Meads and Ian Kirkpatrick. They competed as the New Zealand Cavaliers (the Afrikaans press insisted on calling them the All Blacks) and played a total of twelve matches including four against the Springboks. The players were paid exorbitant sums of money to tour, which was strictly against the IRB's amateur code, but were sanctioned by the NZRFU upon returning (most received only a two-match ban). These 'rebel' tours, as they became known, were not unique to rugby and became the only way white South African sports could compete in international sport for much of the 1970s and 1980s. For more on 'rebel' tours, see: Goolam Vahed & Ashwin Desai, "The Coming of Nelson and the Ending of Apartheid Cricket? Gatting's Rebels in South Africa, 1990", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 33.15 (2016), pp. 1786-1807.

[3] Notable texts that I have excluded are: Terry McLean, *The All Blacks* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1991); Kevin Boon, *The Story of the All Blacks: Rugby and Politics* (Wellington: Kotuku Publishing, 1993); Ron Palenski, *Our National Game: A Celebration of 100 Years of New Zealand Rugby* (Auckland: Moa Beckett Publishers, 1992).

as coaches. There is evidence to suggest that a notable falloff in the numbers of rugby playing boys occurred. Two of New Zealand's most prestigious rugby playing secondary schools, Wesley College and Auckland Grammar, reported fielding more soccer than rugby teams for several years following the tour.[4] "Countless Kiwi parents, disgusted by a rugby administration which was sightless, thoughtless and dumb", lamented rugby writer, Terry McLean, "turned their sons to soccer".[5] It likely did not help rugby's cause when the national men's soccer team garnered much attention for their successful campaign at the 1982 FIFA World Cup. There also appeared to be rifts within rugby's administration. When an All Black tour of South Africa was proposed for 1985, support from New Zealand's rugby unions for the tour was not unanimous as it had been in 1981, a likely symptom of growing awareness of the potential for controversy and further damaging rugby's image. So too, secondary schools again threatened to scrap the game if the tour proceeded.[6]

Typically, the All Blacks' victory at the inaugural Rugby World Cup in 1987 is represented as having rehabilitated the game for New Zealanders. For instance, Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson believe that the tournament, which New Zealand hosted, "was an unequivocal celebration of the game" and cite All Black coach, Brian Lochore, who believed that for the first time in many years "the players believed…that all of New Zealand was behind them".[7] While Lochore's comments are an obvious exaggeration, it does point to a likely shift away from the image rugby occupied in the wake of the 1981 tour (particularly when considering that nearly half of New Zealand's population watched the televised final against France).[8] Significant too was that the victorious All Black team comprised many new players who were 'untainted' by not having played in 1981 or for the Cavaliers. Collectively, they likely symbolised a fresh start for New Zealand rugby. All Black captain David Kirk was credited for having reconnected women with rugby, while John Kirwan starred throughout the tournament.[9]

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[4] "ARU Stance on Tour", *Auckland Star*, 6 December 1981; "Policeman threatens to resign over tour", *Auckland Star*, 1 December 1984.

[5] McLean, *The All Blacks*, p. 121.

[6] "Anti-Apartheid Chief Makes Games Threat", *New Zealand Herald*, 28 February 1985.

[7] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 263-264. Similarly reflecting the idea that the All Blacks' victory rehabilitated the game for New Zealanders, journalist Heather Kidd contributes a section to John Kirwan's autobiography titled 'Rugby's Royal Return'. See: John Kirwan, *John Kirwan's Rugby World* (Auckland: Rugby Press, 1987).

[8] *Ibid*., p. 264.

[9] *Ibid*.

Whether the All Blacks' success in 1987 rehabilitated the game is a matter of interpretation. Certainly, controversies over racism and rugby receded with South Africa's isolation following the Cavaliers tour – or at least did not have such a ready outlet. So too, the next time the Springboks and All Blacks played each other was in 1992, at which point the principal legislative structures of apartheid were being dismantled. Arguably though, burgeoning professionalism and the New Zealand government's transition to a neo-liberal economy in 1984 placed new strains on the game. After the relative decline in participation numbers following the 1981 tour, rugby had to contend with many New Zealanders opting for cheaper, less time-consuming, and more flexible leisure activities to suit more variable working hours. The weekend as the almost exclusive time for sport was also eroded, along with the ability of players to attend night-time practices during the week.

Neo-liberalism also had implications for New Zealand's top players. They were expected to maintain their amateur status while holding down full-time jobs with variable hours yet were being expected to play more frequently as if they were professionals. This made professional clubs in Europe and Japan more alluring to many of New Zealand's top players. Ryan and Watson estimate that by the late 1980s, between 400-500 New Zealanders were playing overseas each year.[10] Professional rugby league too posed a threat of luring players away from rugby union. League's profile was arguably heightened after the Kiwis (New Zealand's representative rugby league side) reached the World Cup final in 1988 and Television New Zealand (TVNZ) began screening matches from Australian competitions, featuring a number of New Zealanders. The ideological implication of professionalism for rugby cannot be underestimated as the amateur ethos of the game was intricately interwoven with notions of egalitarianism, patriotism, and commitment and sacrifice for the nation.[11]

The Springboks returned to New Zealand in 1994 for the first time since 1981. On the eve of the Springbok-Waikato match (the game that never was in 1981), Springbok manager Jannie Engelbrecht commented that "the [1981] tour should be consigned to history":

[10] For more on the effects of professionalism on New Zealand rugby, see: Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 254-282.

[11] Amanda Cosgrove & Toni Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Like to See Themselves': Reading White Masculinity via Media Coverage of the Death of Sir Peter Blake", *Sociology of Sport Journal* 22.1 (2005), p. 342; Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 254-282.

> I think the whole atmosphere in New Zealand is, whether it is those who were for or against the tour, they all prefer to put it to rest. It is something sore to be opened up again and these…people are so genuine that this is a chapter in their history they would rather forget. It's like our apartheid chapter. Put it to rest; the less we talk about it the better…people don't want to talk about that tour.[12]

Implicit in Engelbrecht's comments is a belief in the irrelevance of the past and a need to concentrate on the future. But what he is really saying is that unpleasant and unpalatable history should be forgotten. He, like the authors in this chapter, does not advocate that past glories are forgotten. In this respect, Engelbrecht's comments about the tour and his approach to history act as a metaphor for the texts emerging between 1987 – 1994. In contrast to the politicised texts from Chapter Two (see Table Three), the texts I deconstruct here reflect the uncertainty of rugby's place in New Zealand during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Their representations of the 1981 tour display a recurring, overarching trope emphasising the depoliticisation of rugby in order to rehabilitate the image of game. With the virtual disappearance of activist histories of the tour, representations of rugby returned to a generally celebratory, depoliticised state. Many of the authors evade controversy by focusing only on the rugby part of 1981, while others use their writing as a platform to espouse the generally pro-tour sentiments exemplified by Ross Meurant. The texts in this chapter (schematically presented as Table Four) are representative of what became the dominant narrative about the tour between 1987 – 1994.

Table 4: Rehabilitating and Depoliticising Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1987 – 1994

Author(s)	**Ideology**	**Metaphor**	**Trope**	**Emplotment**	**Argument**
Cameron (1989)	Conservative; Liberal	Disaster	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism
Chester & McMillan (1990)	Conservative	Celebratory	Metonymy	n/a	Contextualism
Hutchins (1991)	Conservative	Victimhood; Celebratory	Metonymy	Romantic	Formism
Barrow (1992)	Conservative; Liberal	Apolitical Sport; 'Bridge-Building'; Victimhood	Synecdoche	n/a	Contextualism

[12] "NZ wants 1981 tour forgotten", *Otago Daily Times*, 16 July 1994.

Don Cameron, "Political Football", in Ron Palenski (ed.), *Between the Posts: A New Zealand Rugby Anthology* (1989)

Ron Palenski is one of New Zealand's most recognised historians of rugby. Palenski earned a Ph.D. in history in 2010 but continues to work primarily within the popular genre. In *Between the Posts*, Palenski selects a number of stories "on the basis of personal preference" which he believes "bear retelling", are of "historical interest", and show rugby in a "different light".[13] However, 'different light' does not entail a critical excavation of rugby, but rather reinforces many of the narratives challenged by activist histories. The text's introduction, for instance, perpetuates the notion of the game as egalitarian: "Rugby in New Zealand is the game of the people, its adherents neither showing nor owing allegiance to any particular level of society…".[14] Accordingly, the accounts selected by Palenski reflect his own uncritical, apolitical approach towards rugby.

Between the Posts contains a chapter on the 1981 tour. Palenski includes an extract from *Barbed-Wire Boks* (1981) by Don Cameron who covered the tour as a journalist. Considering how Palenski represents rugby in his introduction, it is unsurprising that he selected Cameron's work over one of the activist histories. While Cameron admits he was against the tour, he acknowledges that he had "come to cherish the game and the people who play it".[15] Generally, his representation of rugby is uncritical and apolitical, signposting what became the dominant trope around the tour between 1987 – 1994. Like Palenski, he perpetuates the game as inclusive, "devised for all shapes and sizes and colours and creeds".[16] Cameron's account de-politicises rugby by emptying it of the racism, male mores, violence, political implications, and conservatism evident in the protestor accounts. Instead, he represents protests as politically focused on "the Gleneagles Agreement, the rights and wrongs of apartheid, the threat to New Zealand's image, [and] the possibility of sporting boycotts".[17] Notwithstanding the limited

[13] Ron Palenski (ed.). *Between the Posts: A New Zealand Rugby Anthology* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), p. 1.
[14] *Ibid*., p. 2.
[15] Don Cameron, "Political Football" in Palenski (ed.). *Between the Posts*, p. 108.
[16] *Ibid*., pp. 107-108.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 104.

analysis, Palenski insists that Cameron provides an "objective view" of the tour.[18] Of course, Cameron is no more objective than any other commentator. As some of his above quotes suggest, Cameron was not merely a 'disinterested observer', which in the deconstructionist paradigm does not exist. Like the anti-tour histories, Cameron presents one version of the past, one which in this case suits Palenski's own interpretation of the past.

Before I analyse Cameron's text, it is important to add a caveat. The extract I deconstruct is a small part (fewer than ten pages) of a much larger text. It has been selected by Palenski because he believes that, almost a decade later, this extract provides an understanding of the tour which resonates both with what he believes the event was about, and what he believes aptly represents the tour in his present. What the extract reveals about the tour is of interest in determining how the event was contemporarily remembered. Using White's model, I analyse Cameron's ideology, trope, emplotment and argument in only this extract. This could plausibly (but unlikely) change if I were to analyse Cameron's entire text. My interest here is in which versions of the historical event have survived and been retold. As such I conduct my analysis only on what those parts can tell us about the author, time, and likely purpose for which they are remembered.

In identifying Cameron's ideological position, the idealisation of White's conceptual categories become apparent. Predominantly, the text displays a conservative ideology. However, a liberal ideology can be detected in Cameron's representation of protestors. He is not critical of what he sees as their idealistic motives – objection to apartheid, the National government which facilitated the tour, and concerns over New Zealand's image.[19] Arguably, this suggests Cameron endorsed at least some notion of socio-political change in South Africa and New Zealand. The extent of that change remains unclear though. White suggests that the differences between the four ideological groups are more a matter of emphasis than content.[20] As Cameron does not lend particularly strong emphasis to the desirability of change, it could be conceived that his position is liberal; his representation of protestors' motives does not display a conservative's suspicion of change, but he does not emphasise the need for rapid transformations consistent with radical and anarchistic ideologies.

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[18] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 101

[19] *Ibid*., p. 104

[20] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 25.

However, when interrogating Cameron's text for the pace of changes he envisioned, a conservative ideology prevails. Again, his representation of protestors is telling. While arguably supportive of their ideals, he is critical of their methods which sometimes turned "violent" and transformed them into "anti-police demonstrators" who took "their creed of civil disobedience beyond the limit of the law".[21] This also leads him to sympathise with police, for whom the tour "must have been a harrowing experience".[22] Cameron's final remarks towards protestors encapsulate the pace of change envisioned by conservatives: "the protest movement will survive the better if it can regain its idealism, if it can show its aim is *evolution, not revolution*" [emphasis added].[23] This resonates with White's analogy that conservatives envision the pace of change in society as "plantlike gradualizations" or, in Munslow's words, "evolutionary elaboration".[24]

Remnants of a conservative ideology can also be detected in Cameron's work when he forewarns that the tour threatened to "damage…the New Zealand way of life".[25] Implicit in this phrase is a desire to maintain the prevailing status quo and institutional structure. This resonates with White's conceptualisation of conservatives as suspicious of change because they view society – particularly in the form that *currently* prevails – as fundamentally socially congruent.[26] So too, Cameron characterises the tour as "dragging" New Zealand to maturity.[27] This acknowledges both the conservative reluctance to change and the preference for a 'natural rhythm' of change. Notably, Cameron's concern with the preservation of a particular social structure is in direct contrast to the activist histories (see Table Three). Newnham, Chapple, and the contributors to Freeman and Hollins' work blamed the 1981 tour on the insular 'New Zealand way of life'. However, Cameron does not see the tour as being facilitated by the shortcomings of New Zealand society but rather as something which threated to alter the status

[21] Cameron, "Political Football", pp. 104, 106, 108. It should also be noted that he is critical of demonstrators largely because he is critical of Robert Muldoon. By turning violent, demonstrators allowed Muldoon and the National government to manufacture a law and order crisis. This benefitted Muldoon because, as Cameron points out, by insisting that the rule of law be upheld, "he knew he was tapping the basic New Zealand instinct that law and order are preferable to civil disobedience beyond the limit of the law" (p. 104). This gave Muldoon a political advantage over Labour which lost ground because of their support for protestors who were now deemed to be breaking the law.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 111.

[24] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24; Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 172.

[25] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 109.

[26] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 24-25.

[27] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 109.

quo if it went ahead. While Cameron's concerns over the New Zealand way of life resonate with a conservative ideology, there is some evidence to suggest that Cameron's ideology does not neatly fit in the conservative mould.

Cameron metaphorically represents the tour as disastrous. He likens it to the 1979 Abbotsford natural disaster, when a landslide consumed the Dunedin suburb. Just as residents recovered from the landslide, Cameron believes New Zealand will recover from the tour:

> the wounds of the Springbok disaster [will] heal. Memories…will soften like the edges of that gashed hillside. The survivors will sift through the wreckage of the tour, retaining what is good and useful, discarding the useless, the side-issues of the tour. Like nature, the years will close up the wound.[28]

Notably, in the extract above Cameron emphasises relegating unpleasant moments to the past and focusing on the future. Likely because of his endearment to the game, Cameron presents a highly selective version of the tour which focuses on the "good and useful" rather than the more unpalatable reality.[29] Supporting his disaster metaphor, Cameron frequently uses terms such as "gruesome", "exploded", "turmoil", and "eruption" to reinforce the "disastrous" nature of the tour.[30] While he acknowledges the "bitterness", the "bleeding and broken bodies lying about the streets", "the massive civil unrest", the "harrowing experience" for police, and the "angry and sometimes violent confrontations", Cameron maintains that the "Springbok disaster" was "most of all a disaster for the sport of rugby".[31] Throughout the extract, rugby is represented as the principal victim of the disastrous tour, having "sustained damage to its reputation, and to its hold on New Zealanders".[32] Cameron opposed the tour because "I could see it doing much harm to the game".[33]

As rugby is the principal manifestation of his disaster trope, Cameron's metaphorical representations of the tour are reductive and therefore also metonymical. He frequently offers

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[28] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 102.
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] *Ibid*., pp. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106.
[31] *Ibid*., pp. 101, 102, 103, 106.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 108.
[33] *Ibid*.

sympathetic representations of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), who he maintains were unjustly presented as "the villain of the piece".[34] Rather, he insists that it was "through political default" and Muldoon's unwillingness to "avert the disaster" by taking "the leading role in the debate which preceded the tour" that "the rugby union was left with full responsibility".[35] Cameron's apolitical view of sport leads him to conclude that the decision by the rugby union to host the tour was "hardly irresponsible".[36] Like those who endorsed the tour, he insists that it was the "duty of the politicians" to intervene to solve a political problem.[37]

Recurring sympathetic representations of rugby and its governing body also produce another metaphorical analogy of disaster. He represents Ces Blazey, the chairman of NZRFU, as "captain[ing] the [rugby] ship doggedly through the stormiest waters [of the tour]" and that without him, the tour would "have soon been on the rocks".[38] Again, Cameron's linguistic construction of the tour describes a tumultuous event. It is also metonymical as again the tour is reduced to being principally a disaster for rugby. Returning to the Abbotsford analogy, Cameron concludes: "But like the good folk of Abbotsford who gathered up their belongings and sought new horizons, rugby will survive. It may take a longish time before it will prosper, but it will survive. Scarred, perhaps".[39] In essence, the tour is represented metonymically because Cameron sees it as primarily calamitous for rugby.

Despite this, Cameron's narrative is emplotted romantically. He recognises that rugby's reputation had sustained damage, its complacency and "superiority complex" shaken, and its future uncertain being in the hands of an anti-rugby brigade of "schoolteachers and young parents".[40] However, at the time of writing his piece, Cameron is too close to the tour to understand its full ramifications. He thus chooses to construct his narrative as a romance likening it to the overcoming of the Abbotsford disaster. Early on he writes that the tour was "most of all a disaster for…rugby" but that the "wounds" "will soften" and the "survivors" will retain "what is good and useful".[41] Within the ambit of a romantic emplotment, Cameron hopes

[34] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 108.
[35] *Ibid*., pp. 102, 108.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 108.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] *Ibid*., p. 109.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 108.
[40] *Ibid*., pp. 108, 110.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 102.

for reconciliation between rugby and the nation, recognising that if rugby is to "prosper" and "regain its image as the game of the nation, then its officials face more years of hard work".[42]

In this respect, Cameron is hopeful that the calamity of the tour can be overcome just like the residents of Abbotsford overcame the landslide. He even speculates that some good may have come from the tour. He represents 1981 as a coming of age moment that forced "New Zealanders to realise that they are in a modern and increasingly tumultuous world".[43] This maturing also "affected the adolescent regard which many New Zealanders had for the game".[44] However, Cameron also believes there were more tangible benefits that emerged from the tour. He concludes that following the tour "politicians have been brought under closer scrutiny" and that "the police are a stronger, more confident, force than they were".[45] Cameron's romantic emplotment holds out hope that, with the passing of time, the scars of the tour will heal and people will be left with more good than bad.

Finally, Cameron contextualises his account. As an historical event, the tour is undoubtedly shaped by its relationship to another event in its circumambient historical space: apartheid. Cameron recognises that "the whole question of New Zealand-South African sporting contact had become more sensitive" by the 1980s.[46] This is arguably a reference to the shifting objectives of the anti-apartheid movement. The movement had campaigned for non-racial sport during the 1970s, but by the 1980s it was arguing that normal sport could not be played until apartheid was removed.[47] Cameron also recognises that apartheid had a more tangible influence on the tour, as idealistic protestors campaigned, sometimes violently, against the rugby representatives of the racist regime.[48] He also renders the tour a product of "a modern and increasingly tumultuous world", again linking it to its socio-cultural present.[49] Fundamentally, Cameron's argument is integrational. His account explains the tour and its ramifications by

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[42] Cameron, "Political Football", p. 110.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 106. For more examples of the tour as a coming of age moment for New Zealand, see: pp. 102, 109.

[44] *Ibid*., pp. 108, 109.

[45] *Ibid*., p. 110.

[46] *Ibid*., p. 103. While Cameron is not explicit here, this is likely a reference to the political climate following the 1976 Soweto shootings and the 1977 murder of Steve Biko. Both events were widely publicised internationally, including in New Zealand, and are typically thought to have aided in galvanizing opposition against apartheid.

[47] For a fuller explanation of the changing objectives of the international sporting boycott of apartheid, see: Douglas Booth, "Hitting Apartheid for Six? The Politics of the South African Sports Boycott", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38.1 (2003), pp. 477-493.

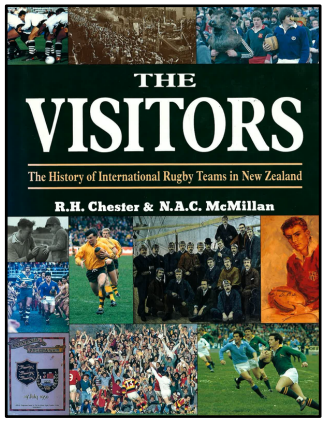
[48] Cameron, "Political Football", pp. 104, 107, 111.

[49] *Ibid*., p. 106.

setting them within their context. In essence, the way the tour took place is inseparable from anti-apartheid context within which it occurred.

Cameron's is critical of the tour, but not of rugby. His work offers an alternative representation of the dominant narratives of the tour written between 1981 – 1986. Arguably, Cameron's account is situated between Chapple and Meurant's representations of the tour. On the one hand, he is anti-tour which resonated with Chapple; on the other hand, his uncritical representations of rugby lean more towards Meurant. This provides us with a good example of how dominant narratives shift. Less than a decade after the tour, a new narrative was beginning to develop, one which married the needs of the period from which it emerged.

Rod Chester & Neville McMillan, *The Visitors: The History of International Rugby Teams in New Zealand* (1990)



Along with Palenski, Rod Chester and Neville McMillan are among the most recognised popular historians of New Zealand rugby. Both were also closely aligned with the administration of rugby in New Zealand. Chester was a referee who officiated games in Auckland, Otago, and Australia, while McMillan was an Auckland provincial age grade selector and Chairman of the Auckland Secondary Schools Rugby Union. Their sympathetic representation of rugby in *The Visitors* is thus hardly surprising. The book traces the history of international rugby teams that have visited New Zealand. Notably, this book is what White refers to as an 'impressionistic' narrative. It tells an open-ended story with no plot and simply terminates in the author's present but provides nothing like a conclusion. While the text arguably contains a beginning (with international rugby teams starting to tour New Zealand), it contains no recognisable middles or manifest conclusions. Rather, "it simply positions us before a body of data thematically organised [in this case chronologically], which is to be savoured as by a connoisseur, as 'interesting'". In this respect, the 'point' of the story is present from the very beginning of the text and is not to be found in a conclusion explaining to the reader the 'point' of the text.[50]

[50] Hayden White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", *Clio* 1.1 (1972), pp. 9-11.

While the authors' representation of the "strife-torn" 1981 tour is devoid of an emplotment, it does sustain a clear argument through the information they privilege.[51] Primarily, the authors attempt to evade the controversial matters of the tour by focusing on the rugby. Much of their representation is devoted to detailing the quality of the matches played between the Springboks and their New Zealand opposition. Perhaps the inclusion of an image of a gnome holding a sign reading "as far as the tour goes, I'm sitting on the fence" is a metaphor for how the authors attempt to represent their approach to the tour.[52] This is typical of the popular genre. Rather than engaging in complexity, contingency, and controversy, Chester and McMillan offer a more comfortable representation of the tour. Accordingly, and conflicting with their supposedly neutral recollection, the tour is emptied out of much of its political significance in favour of privileging the rugby.

Chester and McMillan's language reveals their conservative ideology. For example, at the conclusion of the tour they write that "New Zealand gradually returned to normal".[53] Privileging one state of being over another as 'normal' suggests an endorsement of the prevailing status quo and institutional structure at that given moment, which is consistent with conservative ideologies. To suggest that 'normality' resumed means the authors do not recognise the need for the kind of change advocated by the activist histories. Nor do they acknowledge the maturing process to which Cameron and others refer. Fundamentally, normality – before and after the tour – suggests that the authors view New Zealand as socially harmonious. This is a hallmark of a conservative ideology.

It is also in relation to this 'normality' that Chester and McMillan characterise protestors, whom they label as "intruders…bent on disruption".[54] Likewise, the authors framed their conceptualisation of normality as rugby matches proceeding without political intrusion as was the case before the tour. What is considered to be the 'normal' state of things is again reinforced when they write that "following the bitterness and tension of the 1981 Springbok tour, rugby enthusiasts were looking forward to normal conditions in 1982".[55] Similarly, and

[51] Rod H. Chester, Neville A.C. McMillan, *The Visitors: A History of International Rugby Teams in New Zealand* (Auckland: Moa Publications, 1990), p. 578.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 567.
[53] *Ibid*., p. 578.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] *Ibid*., p. 581.

demonstrating their presumed separation of sport and politics, they note that had the government succumbed to pressure and cancelled the tour, it would have been seen as "interfer[ing]".[56] The authors' apolitical views lead them to conclude that sport was autonomous from the profane world of politics. Protestors, the embodiment of the politics surrounding the tour, intruded into the sporting realm both physically and symbolically.

The authors' ideological position also emerges from what they do *not* say about the tour. For instance, there is a highly selective representation of protestors' motives, one that focuses on external factors while not questioning New Zealand's own social complexion. Demonstrations, they insist, were "in opposition to the South African Government's racial policies" and "it seemed a strange thing that a band of sportsmen could unleash such violent reaction among a large portion of the population".[57] Both of these extracts emphasise the influence of external contexts on the anti-tour campaign. This 'ideology of evasion' gives little consideration to protesters' accounts which emphasise New Zealand's domestic problems – and, notably, rugby's role in perpetuating them – responsible for both facilitating the tour and the protests it engendered. In this regard, Chester and McMillan perpetuate a relatively harmonious representation of New Zealand society (and rugby's role therein), one that ignores domestic racism, male cultural (rugby) mores, conservative government, Māori liberation struggles, and gendered social roles. Arguably, when contrasted with the activist histories, the conservative ideology in this text reinforces disparate representations of the tour.

Considering the evasive ideology in their text, it is unsurprising that Chester and McMillan employ metonymy to reduce the tour to an event emptied of its political significance and all moral considerations and concerned only with the "remarkable" rugby during the tour.[58] Notably, the authors ignore the actions of protesters. When protestors hurled flares onto a playing field the match was only "held up for a minute or two"; kick-offs were sometimes "delayed" by protestors, not cancelled; flour-bombs in the final tests only served to sensationalise "the tension generated by the closeness and importance" of an "exhilarating" game.[59] They also include a representation of the protestor who dressed as a referee and stole the ball before kick-off. Accounts of this incident, almost more than any other, appear in most

[56] Chester & McMillan, *The Visitors*, p. 566.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 566, 578.
[58] *Ibid*., p. 566.
[59] *Ibid*., pp. 576, 572, 577.

popular representation of the tour, likely because it reduces the protests to a humorous novelty.[60] The effect is to undermine the significance of protests and reduce the complexity of confronting questions about playing against a racially selected team.

Chester and McMillan devote the bulk of their representation to retelling the games with one or two sentences referencing the actions of protesters. While the authors are critical of apartheid – or at least reluctant to offer an endorsement – they do not extend their criticisms to the Springboks. Rather, they recognise the need to change apartheid but maintain that the Springboks could "help bring [about] that change".[61] The Springboks and their tours are seen as part of the solution, not as the problem. The contradictory nature of their reasoning should be highlighted here: while apartheid was a political problem which should have no bearing on sport, the Springboks could help solve the political problem. Nevertheless, this resonates with the generally apolitical, pro-tour argument that rugby, and sport more generally, could help break down barriers in South Africa, and that therefore rugby relations should be encouraged. Chester and McMillan even consider it "sad" that New Zealand would most likely not welcome another Springbok touring team until apartheid was removed.[62]

Ultimately, positive representations of rugby abound: the Springboks' match against the New Zealand Māori was "wonderful" and "outstanding" and "there was great camaraderie between the two sides"; rugby crowds, even in Hamilton, were "good-humoured and tolerant".[63] The Springboks too are represented as "sportsmen of the highest calibre", having "play[ed] very well under trying conditions" and "accepting their defeats without rancour and being warmly grateful for the hospitality they received".[64] Conversely, protestors are troped as intrusive, disruptive, and, during the final test match, violent after they "launched assaults with wooden stakes and other weapons", injuring a number of police officers.[65] In essence, metonymy prevails as Chester and McMillan prefigure their representation to reduce the tour to a celebration of rugby while simultaneously reducing the influence and significance of politics and protest.

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[60] Chester & McMillan, *The Visitors*, p. 574.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 566.
[62] *Ibid*., p. 578.
[63] *Ibid*., p. 573.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 578.
[65] *Ibid*.

Despite the apolitical and broadly ahistorical scope of the text, a contextualist argument prevails. While the authors are reluctant to focus on anything outside recalling the rugby, their recognition that apartheid was the catalyst behind the anti-tour protests is contextualist. The authors frequently make statements such as: "in opposition to the South African Government's racial policies", "this Springbok tour could be the last to New Zealand unless there was a change in South Africa's policy on apartheid", or "until there are political changes in South Africa we are, sadly, unlikely to welcome a team from the Republic to our shores again".[66] In so doing, they are contextualising the unfolding tour, or at least the protests, and linking it to its historical present. Entangling the tour with apartheid ultimately leads to the "bitterness and tensions" expressed by the protestors over the Springboks' presence. Another characteristic of a contextualist argument, according to White, is the attempt by the historian to trace forward in time the ramifications or implications of the historical event under study.[67] By predicting that the 1981 tour may be the last until there are political changes to apartheid, the authors trace the "impact" and "influence" of events forward to 1990, by which point they have witnessed South African rugby's isolation and exclusion from the inaugural 1987 Rugby World Cup.[68]

Chester and McMillan represent the tour as a celebration of rugby; they dismiss the significance of the protests, and they evade controversial political matters. Perhaps most significantly they evade any controversy pertaining to New Zealand's own role in the tour. They place the onus on apartheid for prompting the protests against the Springboks (who are represented as victims of a political situation they were seeking to fix, or so the authors believe). They refuse to criticise the NZRFU for proceeding with the tour. Similarly, they make no mention of the social problems in New Zealand – racism, conservative government, male rugby culture, stereotypical gender roles – that pervade the activists' representations of the tour. It should be kept in mind that all the texts in this and the next chapter were produced to generate sales. The authors are conscious of the need to produce texts that have wide appeal, are comfortable, easily consumed, and do not raise unpalatable and complex questions.[69]

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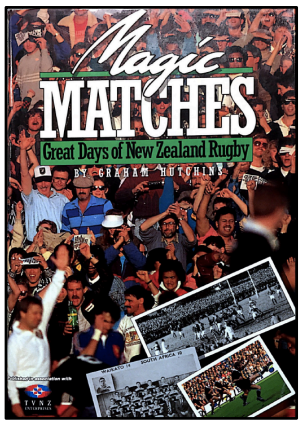
[66] Chester & McMillan, *The Visitors*, pp. 566, 578.

[67] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18.

[68] *Ibid*.

[69] Mark Falcous & Matthew Masucci, "Myth and the Narrativization of Cycling in Popular Literature", *Sport in Society* (2019), p. 13.

Graham Hutchins, *Magic Matches: Great Days of New Zealand Rugby* (1991)



Graham Hutchins is a prolific author of New Zealand pastimes. His work ranges from rugby and cricket to detailing the country's drinking culture and a history of its railways. Predominantly, his work consists of romantic, celebratory representations of New Zealand life. As the title suggests, *Magic Matches* is no different. In this text Hutchins represents what he believes to be the greatest rugby games played in New Zealand between 1956 – 1990. Included is a chapter devoted to the final 1981 test match. Titled "Rugby Under Siege", Hutchins represents it as "the most dramatic, stomach-churning" test match in New Zealand history.[70] Unsurprisingly, Hutchins both celebrates, and is sympathetic toward, rugby. Like Chester and McMillan, he sensationalises the rugby, characterising the final match as "a Steven Spielberg movie – full of hard action, fast moving, a little farfetched, perhaps, but riveting nonetheless".[71] Hutchins depoliticises the tour and plays down the protests.

The manner in which Hutchins represents the tour reveals his conservative ideology. Central to the make-up of his ideology is an emphasis on the maintenance of prevailing structures, particularly in relation to rugby. He advocates for the same 'normality' to which Chester and McMillan refer – in essence, a time where rugby could proceed without overtly political overtones. More explicitly, Hutchins conceptualises his pro-rugby, pro-tour position as tantamount to a pro-democracy philosophy. This is an argument typically advanced by supporters of the tour, who reasoned that it was their democratic right to watch and play sport with whomever they wished, free from political interference (see, for example, Meurant in Chapter Two). Hutchins deems the "extremist" in the "rogue Cessna" who dropped flour-bombs during the Auckland test as the embodiment of political interference in sport. Accordingly, protests were "unwelcome" because they "impinged" on rugby and, therefore, democracy.[72] To make his point, he develops (and often speaks through) a fictional spectator called Don Rankin who attends the final test:

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[70] Graham Hutchins, *Magic Matches: Great Days of New Zealand Rugby* (Auckland: Moa Publications, 1991), p. 182.

[71] *Ibid*., p. 167.

[72] *Ibid*., pp. 167, 170, 177.

> Rankin stood on the open terrace [of Eden Park] safeguarding … his and New Zealanders' democratic rights … [Rankin] fought in World War II to preserve just such rights – which included the free passage into and out of international rugby areas.[73]

In Hutchins' ideologically conservative view, playing rugby contributes to the preservation of democracy. Conversely, the anti-tour movement embodied "anarchy", their "violent" protests having "little to do with apartheid".[74] Deconstructing Hutchins' language reveals his conservatism. For instance, Rankin's use of the terms "safeguarding" and "preserving" in the quote above resonate with a conservative characterisation of the status quo. The terms suggest that Hutchins is sceptical of the need for change. In this respect, Hutchins' emphasis on the prevailing institutional structures and harmonious society equates to what White calls the temporal location of utopia associated with conservatives.[75]

Hutchins' pro-tour and pro-rugby position appears in two recurring metonymical metaphors: victimhood and celebration. He consistently represents rugby as the principal victim of the tour. The game, not apartheid, was "under siege" and Hutchins draws on his literary imagination and emotive language to construct the scene of the final test: both teams "suffer[ed]" as a result of the "ominous", "threatening", "unsettling", "terrifying", "harrowing", "bizarre" and "demented" protests which "put the fear of God" into many onlookers.[76] Hutchins' metonymy leads him to reduce the entire tour to an attack on rugby, which is the principal victim of the protests. However, despite what he represents as the "crazy" and "disorienting absurdities" of the protests, the game could not be cowed: "A magic match?", Hutchins rhetorically asks, "the game itself was a bottler".[77]

Accordingly, Hutchins' second metaphor, and metonymical reduction of the tour, is celebration, as in the celebration of rugby. The All Blacks were "dominant", their play was "lethal" (figuratively), "brilliant", "remarkable", and "memorable".[78] Alan Hewson, who

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[73] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, pp. 167-169.
[74] *Ibid*., p. 181.
[75] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25.
[76] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, pp. 167, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175.
[77] *Ibid*., p. 167.
[78] *Ibid*., 173, 175.

kicked the winning penalty for the All Blacks in the match, is singled out: "In the eye of the 1981 Bok hurricane…Hewson made his most telling cut"; "amidst all this caterwauling, Hewson cocked a snook at everyone – the crazed pilot above, the boorish within and without – and timed his entry into the backline thrust with sublime skill"; his pass to All Black team mate, Stu Wilson, was "brilliant", who responded with "an equally brilliant one-handed take" to score a "grand" try.[79] Despite the "menace" of the plane, "the All Blacks did well" and "carried on as if it was just another test match".[80] Not even flour-bombs could perturb them: "Frank Shelford, the new All Black flanker, emerged from a flour bomb cloud and ran a [Naas] Botha bomb back at the Boks".[81] Even the Springboks were able to "surge back into contention" after conceding points, "a sobering moment for the All Blacks".[82] Hutchins notes that as the second half commenced "the thought flashed through the mind (even as thunder flashes and smoke bombs exploded in the in-goal area) that South Africa, given its proud rugby heritage would not capitulate".[83] Hutchins reduces the entire tour to a single 'magic match' worth celebrating.

These extracts demonstrate how Hutchins has prefigured his understanding of the tour as first and foremost a rugby tour. Accordingly, his considerations never go beyond the rugby and the inconveniences that the protestors posed. This, according to Hutchins' representation of the final test, should be the principal aspect of the tour which should be remembered. This text is an excellent example of the generally ahistorical and apolitical accounts of the tour which make up the dominant narrative during this period. Few authors consider the ramifications of apartheid; even fewer (if any, as is the case with Hutchins) delve into the domestic situation in New Zealand. These texts also illustrate how popular histories tend to reduce complexity and contingency in favour of comfort and celebration.

Unsurprisingly, given the prevailing metaphorical tropes, Hutchins emplots his narrative romantically. Typical of a romantic narrative, Hutchins structures his chapter as a quest or journey with numerous obstacles to overcome before the match could run its course, the All

[79] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, pp. 172-173.
[80] *Ibid*., pp. 172, 177.
[81] *Ibid*., pp. 172, 175.
[82] *Ibid*., p. 172.
[83] *Ibid*., p. 176.

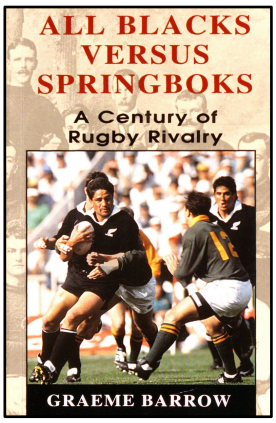
Blacks could emerge victorious, and the game be immortalised as a 'magic match'.[84] Perhaps the most notable obstacle is when a flour-bomb struck All Black Gary Knight. Referee Clive Norling "consulted the captains about calling the game off"; however, they decline, and the verdict is to "play on". [85] A further indicator of a romantic emplotment is Hutchins' climactic ending as "one final, excruciating act of high drama": Hewson's conversion of the final penalty to give the All Blacks victory.[86] Ultimately, Hutchins' narrative represents rugby, and the All Blacks in particular, as superior to the political environment (protestors) and emerging as victorious. [87] Victory was sealed – over the Springboks, "the arch-foes" for "the mythical world crown", and over the protesters who failed to stop the tour and the Auckland test match.[88] Two extracts reinforce this: returning to Don Rankin, Hutchins notes that he "thrust his bony fist into the air, a sign of defiance to the Cessna, as much a salute to the *triumph* of Hewson and Wilson and the All Blacks"; similarly, he notes how Hewson "raised both arms in a combination of *triumph* and relief…the All Blacks were going to win the game and the series after all" [emphasis added].[89] Both extracts contain the central theme of a romantic narrative: triumph.[90]

Finally, Hutchins' narrative is set primarily in a formist mode with the context of the tour unimportant.[91] The only references to protestors are to sensationalise the rugby. Arguably, Hutchins evades the context because it is unavoidably political, which does not fit with his apolitical understanding of the tour. Hutchins only mentions apartheid once, and that is in an attempt to delegitimise the protests as having had "little to do with apartheid".[92] His only other references to context are in a sceptical comment that protestors "proclaimed" to be "preserving democracy for millions of South African blacks", and a comment through Don Rankin that he "felt sorry for the Springboks. *Not South Africa*, just the Springboks" [emphasis added], arguably attempting to demonstrate he did not condone apartheid.[93] This illustrates Hutchins' formist explanation which White points out establishes the uniqueness of events by focusing

[84] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[85] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, p. 175.
[86] *Ibid*., p. 178.
[87] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[88] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, pp. 173, 179.
[89] *Ibid*., pp. 173, 180.
[90] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 9-10.
[91] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[92] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, p. 181.
[93] *Ibid*., pp. 167, 181.

on the "variety, colour, and vividness of the historical field".[94] Hutchins description of the final test is a classic example. He provides extensive, in-depth descriptions of the various actors who produced "the most dramatic, stomach-churning test match in New Zealand history".[95] This extract, an encapsulation of Hutchins' argument throughout the chapter, formally dispels any similarities with other events. Suggesting that the test was the most dramatic in New Zealand history encapsulates the uniqueness associated with formist histories. By disregarding context, Hutchins likely attempts to evade controversy. He gives no consideration to the political significance of playing sport against representatives of apartheid South Africa. Instead, we are presented with a highly celebratory, unproblematic representation of rugby and the tour which is in complete contrast to how the activist histories from Chapter Two have represented the event (see Table Three).

Graeme Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks: A Century of Rugby Rivalry* (1992)



Originally published in 1981 but revised and republished in 1992, Graeme Barrow's *All Blacks versus Springbok* details a history of rugby contests between South Africa and New Zealand. Barrows' final chapter, 'Politics, Protest, and Sport', centres on the 1981 tour, how it came to pass, and its ramifications for New Zealand and South Africa. For Barrow, the principal problem with the tour was that the NZRFU "failed to articulate the pro-tour cause adequately…and to put the pro-tour case properly and convincingly"; according to Barrow "there was a case".[96] His narrative is entrenched with what became known as the 'bridge-building' philosophy, whereby sport with South Africa would erode the racial divisions of apartheid. He insists the "allegations that playing with the Springboks was 'playing with apartheid'" and tantamount to "endorsement and approval…was obviously nonsensical".[97]

Advocates of this philosophy generally cite a range of evidence. Typically, this included the South African National Party's decision to permit Māori to tour with the All Blacks in 1970,

[94] White, *Metahistory*, p. 14.
[95] Hutchins, *Magic Matches*, p. 182.
[96] Graeme Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks: A Century of Rugby Rivalry* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 181.
[97] *Ibid*.

its multi-national sports policy (which allowed the country's different 'nations' – read races – to play one another), its approval of multi-racial rugby in 1977, and the amalgamation of South African Rugby Association (SARA), South African Rugby Football Federation (SARFF), and South African Rugby Board (SARB)[98] in 1978.[99] These same advocates typically failed to differentiate between multi-racial and non-racial sport or to debate the non-racial movement's view that there could be "no normal sport in an abnormal society".[100] Barrow's argument, like most of those presented by the texts in this chapter and the 'bridge-building' philosophy, is highly selective and contradictory. He claims that sport is apolitical but simultaneously believes that it could be used to counter apartheid. Moreover, it is not clear how apolitical sport could possibly be played in an apartheid society where race determined one's opportunities in every sphere from cradle to grave.

Much like Chester and McMillan, Barrow's account is not a narrative where the meaning of the story is found in the ending and the 'way it all comes out'.[101] Rather, he sustains a number of arguments which inform the reader of the point of the text. The presuppositions upon which Barrow bases his argument are clear. He views sport apolitically, noting that rugby people in both countries were "desperate to keep the historical rugby ties intact despite political interference".[102] Primarily though, Barrow's argument is an attempt to plead the pro-tour and 'bridge-building' case. While never explicitly claiming outright support for the tour, he presents information with a pro-tour slant. For instance, he is highly sympathetic towards Meurant's representation of the tour and seems to rely heavily on *The Red Squad Story* at the expense of activist histories—none of which he cites. Notably, like numerous representations of the tour, he refers to instances of violence perpetrated by protestors to malign them. For instance, he writes that: "violence is traditionally the resort of the anarchic, the inarticulate and the criminal – and all three classes were well represented in the clashes with police". In another

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[98] Under apartheid, rugby in South Africa was administered according to race. The South African Rugby Association was the governing body for black rugby, the South African Rugby Football Federation for Coloured rugby, and the South African Rugby Board for white rugby. Following their amalgamation, they retained the name of the white SARB. Notably though, administrative authority of the game in South Africa (as well as most of the funding) remained in white hands.

[99] Advocates of this philosophy ignore the fact that South Africa's only recognized non-racial rugby body, the South African Rugby Union, an affiliate of the South African Council of Sport, refused to participate in amalgamation talks until apartheid was removed.

[100] For more on this, see: Vahed & Desai, "The Coming of Nelson and the Ending of Apartheid Cricket? Gatting's Rebels in South Africa, 1990", pp. 1786-1787.

[101] White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", p. 8.

[102] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 166.

instance, he rhetorically asks: "What did the civilised world think of people who would assault and vilify their own police because of claimed revulsion for a police state on the other side of the world".[103] Barrow does not raise the subject of violence perpetrated by the police.

Considering these comments, it is perhaps unsurprising that Barrow's narrative is ideologically conservative. This is apparent in his representations of New Zealand as "a nation which prides itself on its racial tolerance" and a country whose philosophies "contradict" and are "diametrically opposed" to those of South Africa.[104] Barrow perpetuates the prevailing narrative that sport acted as a unifying feature between the colonizer and the colonized in New Zealand, arguing that "Māori…have enjoyed equal rights on the rugby field".[105] By comparing race relations in New Zealand and South Africa, in particular race relations in sport, Barrow presents his own society as fundamentally harmonious and not in need of any urgent change. Again, this is in complete contrast to activist representations of New Zealand that view both society and rugby as the problems which predisposed the protests against the tour.

A conservative ideology can similarly be detected in Barrow's representations of protestors, particularly in his suspicion of their motives. Like many pro-tour accounts, he represents protestors as "anarchic" who "scarred" the country and brought "far more harm to New Zealand" than benefits.[106] Protestors had impinged on "the rule of law and the absolute right of citizens in a democracy to go about their lawful business without being prevented by illegal means".[107] Inherent in these extracts is a critique of protestors for attempting to challenge what Barrow regards as the status quo. Drawing on White's terminology, Barrow sees "the institutional structure that currently prevails" as under threat from the "illegal disorder", "criminal" and "violent" actions of protestors.[108] Similarly, he endorses the way Muldoon's government handled the tour. "[A] democratic government might disapprove", he insists, "but would not interfere" in the tour. This is exactly what protestors condemned the Muldoon government for doing. Rather, Barrow takes the government's unwillingness to intervene in

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[103] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 178.

[104] *Ibid*., pp. 162, 180.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 162. Ryan and Watson believe that the narrative of equality in sport "masks a more complex reality of paternalism, selective inclusion and a series of socio-economic and geographical impediments" which have influenced Māori involvement in sport, and therefore does not represent the inclusive institution Barrow believes. See: Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, p. 141

[106] *Ibid*., pp. 178, 180.

[107] *Ibid*., p. 183.

[108] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25; Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 178.

the tour as a preservation of the "degree of freedom" that New Zealanders enjoy. Concomitantly, he comments that a marker of "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" societies is the lack of "freedom of choice about which individuals, and which teams, they have sporting contact with".[109] In sum, Barrow's conservative ideology finds clear expression in his critiques of the anti-tour movement which impinged on the prevailing freedoms and democracy enjoyed by New Zealanders. He sees no need for social change in New Zealand and supports the status quo.[110]

However, much like in Tom Newnham's narrative (see Chapter Two), Barrow's treatment of apartheid displays a different ideological position. Rather than briefly touching on apartheid as many of the texts in this chapter do, Barrow displays a genuine desire for progressive change in South Africa. For example, his criticisms of the protestors' "imbecilic", "crude", "anarchic", "criminal", and "extremely stupid" methods, rested on a fear that they were undermining their own anti-apartheid objectives.[111] In his words, "the more violent and lawless the protests became, and the more they became identified with those with communist leanings, the easier it was for the defenders of apartheid to spread the message that it was only those types of people who were against the tour".[112] This is a generally accurate observation by Barrow, as there is empirical evidence that demonstrates this was how certain sections of the Afrikaans press, particularly *Die Burger*, represented the tour.[113] Barrow's solution is bridge building through sport: "sporting contacts should be encouraged" because "building bridges did more to break down racialism than boycotts".[114] Accordingly, his desire to maintain the status quo in New Zealand cannot be transposed onto a context as radically different as apartheid South Africa.

Nevertheless, Barrow's representation of apartheid reveals a liberal ideology. This can primarily be determined through the pace of change he endorses. It is likely that Barrow is critical of the protestors' "extremist" methods because they resonate with revolutionary-type

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[109] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 187.

[110] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 172.

[111] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 178.

[112] *Ibid*., p. 179.

[113] For examples, see: "NS kwaad oor jong betogers [NZ anger over young protestors", *Die Burger*, 4 July 1981; "Daar is nog hoop vir boktoer [Still hope for Bok tour]", *Die Burger*, 27 July 1981; "Reaksie in NS laai op teen betogers [Reactions against protestors in NZ increasing]", *Die Burger*, 27 July 1981; "Bok-oorwinning 'n betoger-nederlaag [Bok victory a protestor defeat]", *Die Burger*, 31 August 1981; "Einde van 'n toer [End of the tour]", *Die Burger*, 14 September 1981; "Rooi veldtog teen solidariteit [Red campaign against solidarity]", *Die Burger*, 14 September 1981; "Marxis is groot SA vyand [Marxist SA's biggest enemy]", *Die Burger*, 14 September 1981.

[114] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, pp. 167-168.

change that strives for instantaneous change, although he is never explicit on this point.[115] Rather, he draws on Abe Williams (an extract which he draws from Ross Meurant's "factual and generally horrifying" book about the Red Squad) to make his own position about change clear. Citing Williams, Barrow contends that "gradual rather than sudden or violent change" was desirable, and that "sport was breaking down apartheid".[116] The insinuation here is that there could be a post-apartheid South Africa – but only if international sport with South Africa continued. Citing the National Party's decision to allow Māori to tour with the All Blacks, Barrow's support for the 1981 tour is couched in his belief that "New Zealand [rugby] had been a catalyst" to "ease…restrictive laws" and bring about the "gradual" and "tentative emergence of multiracial sport played by South Africans".[117]

It should be noted, however, that Barrow's representations of rugby are highly selective and creates a very particular image of the game which is entrenched with his beliefs in the inherent virtues of sport. For instance, his discussion of the 1976 All Black tour of South Africa makes no reference to the fatal Soweto uprising only weeks before. When he does address Soweto, it is in the form of a somewhat trivial deflection, noting that "television coverage of…Idi Amin in Uganda may have neutralised some of the distaste for South Africa caused by Soweto".[118] Including this incident would raise uncomfortable questions about the morality of a rugby tour in the immediate wake of a pivotal event in the history of black resistance in South Africa. Notwithstanding his selectivity, Barrow's narrative supports progressive but moderately paced change rather than revolutionary change. According to this narrative, New Zealand's willingness to play rugby with the Republic was critical to achieving progressive, liberal change in South Africa.

Reflecting the contradictory nature of his argument, Barrow's two principal metaphors, both of which recur throughout the text are apolitical sport and 'bridge-building'. Importantly, Barrow is pro-tour not because he supports apartheid, but because he believes in sport, and more specifically, rugby's ability to erode apartheid, a marker of the prevailing trope during this period. He grossly overstates the political power of sport which he says provided "the

[115] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 177.
[116] *Ibid*., p. 182.
[117] *Ibid*., p. 167.
[118] Ibid., p. 171.

only…peaceful solution to South Africa's problems".[119] Barrow is generally critical of apartheid, referring to it as "the worst offender against civilised principles", but simultaneously attempts to dissociate rugby from racism, arguably so as not to warrant any political involvement in the game.[120] For instance, he makes a point of detailing the good relationships between Springbok touring parties and Māori teams (with the exception of the 1921 tour).[121] Likewise, Barrow believes that, by 1981, apartheid had been sufficiently removed from rugby with the touring Springboks "chosen on merit"; Errol Tobias was "no token selection".[122] Accordingly, the tour, he believes, was justified because "South African rugby had been perceived to have done everything possible to integrate and normalise [the game]".[123] Despite the contradictory nature of his argument, Barrow primarily displays a metaphor of synecdoche. While his beliefs on the methods of achieving the erosion of apartheid are questionable, his bridge-building philosophy nonetheless demonstrates that he has integrated the tour into the greater campaign against apartheid.

The text also contains an underlying metaphor of victimhood. He believes opposition to New Zealand for hosting the tour was a double-standard, another argument typical across pro-tour accounts. He laments that "New Zealand had been chosen as the whipping boy despite it being obvious that other countries had more sport contacts with South Africa", even arguing that it was because New Zealand did not have the "resources to aid black Africa economically".[124] So too, rugby fans become the victims of political "interference" during that tour and, much like Meurant, Barrow argues that "law abiding citizens had been deprived of their legal right to watch a game of rugby by illegal methods".[125] Criticising the methods of the protestors, while not challenging their ideals, is a frequent occurrence in many of the accounts in this chapter. Arguably, this provides a way for the authors to undercut or even demean protestors without being seen to be supportive of apartheid. This can also tell us something about the period in which these texts were produced. It was generally recognised by the mid-1980s, particularly following the declaration of a state of emergency in South Africa in 1985, that

[119] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 173.
[120] *Ibid*., p. 181.
[121] *Ibid*., pp. 163-164, 165.
[122] *Ibid*., pp. 124, 171.
[123] *Ibid*., p. 180.
[124] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[125] *Ibid*., p. 176.

apartheid needed to go. Therefore, there is less scope in these texts to be seen as anything but critical of apartheid.

In contrast to what Barrow considers the illegal tactics of protestors, he advocates peaceful marches, which coincidentally did not threaten the rugby, because that "was the way the vast majority of those who wanted to make a demonstration against apartheid would have preferred".[126] Arguably drawing on his own literary imagination, he justifies this form of protest by noting that "the outside world…would have been far more impressed with the extent of opposition to apartheid [and] would have concluded that New Zealanders were able to make their political points in a civilised and rational manner".[127] "But what is more important", Barrows continues, is that peaceful protests "would have impressed people in South Africa – and especially white people [who] are by and large a disciplined and law abiding people. Protest that was disciplined and law abiding would have had a great impact on them".[128]

Finally, Barrow places the 1981 tour in the context of apartheid. The majority of the chapter is devoted to detailing how New Zealand responded to apartheid and how it influenced the Springbok-All Black relationship. He sets up his argument by noting that it was "inevitable" that "two countries with such contradictory philosophies should run into difficulties, sometimes bordering on national crisis".[129] While overtly critical of the protestor's methods, he recognises that "one of their chief motivation factors [was] a desire to assist South Africa's blacks".[130] Again, Barrow presents a South African context, as distinct from a New Zealand context, as critical to explaining and understanding the tour.

Another typical feature of a contextualist argument used by Barrow is his trace of the origins of the event and then looking forward to determine its impact and influence on subsequent events.[131] The conflict over apartheid during the 1981 tour, according to Barrow, can be traced back to 1956 with the "emergence…of a strong body of opinion which was adamant that the days of New Zealand tacitly accepting…an unspoken South African directive to New Zealand

[126] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 178.
[127] *Ibid*.
[128] *Ibid*., p. 179.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[130] *Ibid*., p. 177.
[131] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18.

to how its teams should be selected, should come to an end forthwith".[132] He even suggests that as early as the 1920s "New Zealand rugby was having to make adjustments because of the facts of South African life".[133] Tracing the influence of the tour forward in time, Barrow suggests that following the 1986 Cavaliers 'rebel' tour "there seemed little likelihood of further rugby contact with South Africa in the near future. Too many difficulties had been caused by the events of the recent past".[134] Barrow's frequent references to communism are further evidence of a contextualist argument. He claimed that many protestors were "self-confessed communists" and that the South African government "persistently portrayed all who opposed its policies as communist".

Fundamentally, Barrow's narrative is entrenched in the ideology of the goodness and virtue of sport. For instance, he cannot conceive that the exclusion of Māori from South Africa tours was pandering to South African wishes, but rather "to shield Māori players from any hurt or embarrassment".[135] Accordingly, Barrow expresses his anti-apartheid position through his desire to maintain rugby ties with South Africa because "sport, and particularly rugby, has done more than anything to break down apartheid".[136] He draws on the cancelation of the 1967 All Black tour of South Africa to argue that it had a "psychological impact on those South Africans who supported the racial policies of their government [that] should never be underestimated".[137]

Conclusion

The 1980s were a tempestuous time for rugby in New Zealand. The social activists behind the anti-tour histories had successfully challenged the place of the game in New Zealand. They exposed a somewhat sinister entanglement between the game, racism, intolerance, moral conservatism, Pākehā masculinity and patriarchal gender relations. These narratives effectively politicised rugby and the scars of the tour – both mental and physical – likely had an enduring effect on how rugby is viewed in New Zealand. The tour had raised the political consciousness

[132] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 164.
[133] *Ibid*., p. 163.
[134] *Ibid*., p. 188.
[135] *Ibid*., p. 164.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[137] *Ibid*., p. 167.

of many New Zealanders and becoming politically aware is not something easily unlearned. However, as material contexts change, so do representations of the past. For the most part, rugby had survived attempts at self-immolation in 1981, 1985 and 1986 and with the help of South African rugby's effective isolation and the All Blacks' successful Rugby World Cup campaign in 1987, the game regained much of its popularity as the winter sport of choice among New Zealand men.[138] However, the place of the game in New Zealand society had nonetheless changed. "Increasingly, it is just another sport, important but no longer central", observed sociologist Geoff Fougere in 1989.[139] Moreover, the game faced new challenges of commercialism and professionalism, responding to a more general global trend but which was also influenced by New Zealand's economic changes in 1984. The collective egalitarianism which had been part of New Zealand's self-image until 1984 – and a hallmark of rugby's self-proclaimed virtues – was undermined by economic liberalisation which changed society into being more individually oriented.[140] The game may have regained much of the territory it lost as a result of the tour, but its place in New Zealand society was never uncontested.

The texts in this chapter reveal a clear shift from what was the dominant political trope in the first epoch. In its place emerges a trope which emphasises the depoliticisation and rehabilitation of rugby's image. Perhaps most revealing about these narratives and the way they seek to represent rugby is in their silences. In contrast to the inward-looking texts on New Zealand discussed in Chapter Two (see Table Three), those deconstructed here are informed by apolitical sensibilities which offer very little critical excavation of New Zealand society or the place of rugby. They are also marked by a notable degree of contradiction and poor reasoning. While they attempt to depoliticise rugby, they simultaneously endorse sporting contact as a way to erode apartheid.

In this respect, they are wound up in the ideology of the inherent goodness and purity of sport as a social institution.[141] Throughout these texts, rugby is positioned as the principal victim of

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[138] Whether the game regained its metonymical status amongst New Zealanders as a bearer of their national identity is questionable. For more on this, see: Geoff Fougere, "Shattered Mirror", *Comment*, November 1981, pp. 12-14; Geoff Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity: The Case of Rugby Football" in David Novitz and William E. Willmott (eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (Wellington: GP Books, 1989), pp. 110-122.

[139] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 120.

[140] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, p. 255.

[141] Jay Coakley, "Assessing the sociology of sport: On cultural sensibilities and the great sport myth", *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 50.4-5 (2015), p. 402.

the intrusion by the seemingly 'profane' world of politics into sport. Rather, the game is consistently represented as an egalitarian institution in New Zealand, as a space where Māori and Pākehā shared equal rights. Even South African sport, and obviously rugby in particular, is represented as inherently pure. For instance, Barrow insists that in South Africa sport "had always been in advance of the government in eliminating racism".[142] The speciousness of these accounts is further evident in their attempts to 'blame' apartheid for the tour, while the decision by the NZRFU and Muldoon to proceed with the tour receives little consideration. These kinds of arguments are not only apolitical but ahistorical, yet they are nonetheless deployed to justify sustaining sporting ties with South Africa. Ultimately, these authors attempt to rehabilitate and depoliticise rugby by reasserting the virtuousness and good they believe to be the defining feature of the game. Anything which complicates or contradicts this representation of rugby is silenced through exclusion.

[142] Barrow, *All Blacks versus Springboks*, p. 188.

CHAPTER FOUR

Virtuous Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1995 – 2019

Political changes in South Africa represented a new set of material contexts which had implications for how the 1981 tour was represented in New Zealand. In April 1994, South Africa held its first non-racial democratic elections, signalling the formal end of apartheid. In what was a relatively peaceful transition, the African National Congress (ANC) ousted the National Party (NP) after nearly five decades as the governing party. After 27 years of incarceration, Nelson Mandela was elected by majority vote as President of South Africa. Of course, the process of removing apartheid had been underway for several years. Secret negotiations between Mandela and the NP had occurred as early as 1982 in what became tentatively known as the 'talks-about-talks'. However, these bore little fruit until new South African President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the ANC in 1990 and released Mandela from prison.[1] White rugby officials in the South African Rugby Board (SARB) too attempted negotiations with the ANC in the late-1980s. What became known as the SARB's 'African Initiative' culminated in a series of meetings between Danie Craven and exiled ANC officials (for which Craven was publicly labelled a traitor by the NP government).[2] These meetings were intended to breakdown the stalemate between the ANC and NP negotiations, but it remains a moot point whether Craven would have endorsed these measures had South African rugby not been isolated. Nevertheless, by the time the All Blacks toured South Africa in 1992, apartheid as a legal system was near an end.

With the ousting of the white regime came the tacit recognition that protestors in 1981 had been vindicated. Shortly after South Africa's elections in 1994, New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger issued a statement that, in retrospect, the 1981 tour had been a mistake and raised the possibility of protestors convicted of tour-related offences being pardoned. In response to Bolger's suggestion, the *Sunday Star-Times* surveyed 500 people from rural and urban areas in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Of the respondents, 49% of people agreed that the tour was a mistake while 46% rejected the idea of pardoning protestors. So too, more women (51%) than men (46%) felt the tour was a mistake and more men (52%) than women

[1] For more on this period, see: Dan O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 – 1994* (Randburg, ZA: Ravan Press, 1996), pp. 320-366.

[2] For more on the South African Rugby Board's 'African Initiative', see: Sebastian Potgieter, "A Long Shadow: The 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand", *Sporting Traditions* 36.1 (2019), pp. 38-40.

(41%) were against pardoning protestors. Not surprisingly, Tom Newnham was "very pleased" that Bolger had "come to his senses at last"; Ross Meurant called the comments "astonishing" while Andy Haden, All Black captain in 1981, deemed pardoning protestors "absurd".[3] As an indicator of contemporary feeling towards the tour, the survey is limited. The reader is not privy to how data was collected, the age or gender dimensions of those surveyed, or whether respondents had endorsed the tour or not in 1981. What it does demonstrate is that the tour remained in the popular consciousness of New Zealanders and continued to polarise them.[4] The tour surfaced again in 1995 when Bolger publicly apologised to Mandela.

Memories of the tour have consistently emerged in the twenty-first century. Anniversaries of the tour between 2001-2016, while generally muted, demonstrated that it still had a place in New Zealand's consciousness. During the 2008 general elections, the Labour Party unsuccessfully attempted to make political capital out of opposition leader John Key's comment that he held no strong view on the tour in 1981.[5] The tour was again raised in 2013 with questions about the composition of New Zealand's delegation to Nelson Mandela's funeral. Again, John Key, now Prime Minister, drew attention for choosing former Prime Minister Jim Bolger and former Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon over anti-apartheid activist John Minto.[6] Critics questioned Key's own attendance noting that he "could not remember whether he was for or against the tour".[7] For Ross Meurant though, much like Engelbrecht's comments in the previous chapter, by the time of tour's thirtieth anniversary in 2011 it was "time to move on".[8] Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson too believe that the New Zealand public has in fact moved on from the tour. Whether this has occurred is questionable. Perhaps what Ryan and Watson mean is that most people have moved on from the intensity they felt

[3] "Don't Pardon Bok Tour Protestors", *Sunday Star-Times*, 8 May 1994.

[4] For example, see: "'81 Bok Tour Still Divides Opinions", *Sunday Star-Times*, 7 August 1994.

[5] Greg Ryan & Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), p. 244. See also: "In search of John Key", *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 2008.

[6] Minto's response to being excluded from the delegation also cited the tour: "Don MacKinnon and Jim Bolger were tour supporters and apologists for the South African regime. They welcomed white South African representation in Wellington and supported all kinds of links with the apartheid regime. They ignored calls for a boycott. National said Mandela was a terrorist and the ANC was a terrorist organisation. It's an embarrassment to be a New Zealander when these hypocrites with so little character and limited integrity are to represent us". See: "New Zealand debates about Nelson Mandela", *National Business Review*, 9 December 2013.

[7] "Key stands by Mandela funeral delegation decision", *New Zealand Herald*, 9 December 2013; "Kiwi Mandela delegation without tour protestors", *Stuff*, 9 December 2019; "Key refuses to reveal 1981 apartheid stance", *TVNZ One News*, 9 December 2013.

[8] "The rugby tour that split us into two nations", *New Zealand Herald*, 9 July 2011.

about the tour, but the event itself remains etched in New Zealand's national imagination as a cultural reference point.

In this chapter, I explore how popular rugby histories have represented the tour under a new set of material contexts engendered by the collapse of apartheid. Perhaps the commercialisation of the game since turning openly professional in 1995 kindled a proliferation of popular writing about the game. I have selected four texts which I believe best expose the dominant narrative around rugby and the tour during this period: Finlay Macdonald and Bruce Connew's *The Game of Our Lives* (1996), Keith Quinn's *Outrageous Rugby Moments* (2002), Malcolm Mulholland's *Beneath the Māori Moon* (2009), and Ron Palenski's *Rugby: A New Zealand History* (2015).[9] I have schematically represented the tropologies of these texts in Table Five. Building on themes which emerged in Chapter Three, the texts in this chapter employ the trope of rugby as a virtuous institution.

Table 5: Virtuous Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1995 – 2019

Author(s)	**Ideology**	**Metaphor**	**Trope**	**Emplotment**	**Argument**
Macdonald (1996)	Liberal	Virtuous Rugby; 'Bad-Apple'	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism; Formism
Quinn (2002)	Liberal	Anti-Apartheid	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Mulholland (2009)	Radical	Political Rugby	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Palenski (2015)	Conservative	Virtuous Rugby	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism

Virtuosity is particularly pronounced in those representations where the authors believe that rugby played a role in aiding the collapse of apartheid. For instance, Grant Harding, whose co-authored book *Toughest of Them All* (2000) provides a chronologised history of Springbok-All Black contests, believes that "without New Zealand's support…change would happen more quickly in South Africa".[10] So too, Ron Palenski insists that "rugby people themselves initiated the small dent in apartheid (because of the protests preceding the 1928, 1949 and 1960 tours), something for which they have never been given credit".[11] This trope of virtuous rugby is best encapsulated by an extract from columnist Bob South in the *Sunday Star-Times*. Reflecting on

[9] Some of the notable texts I have excluded include: Spiro Zavos, *Winters of Revenge: The Bitter Rivalry Between the All Blacks and the Springboks* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1997); Don Cameron, *New Zealand Herald Matches of the Century: 100 Years of Great New Zealand Rugby* (Auckland: W & H Publications, 1999); Keith Quinn, *Legends of the All Blacks* (Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 1999); Grant Harding & David Williams, *Toughest of Them All: New Zealand and South Africa, the Struggle for Rugby Supremacy* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000); Ron Palenski, *All Blacks: Myths and Legends* (Auckland: Hodder Moa, 2008); Tony Johnson & Lynn McConnell, *Behind the Silver Fern* (Auckland: Mower Books, 2016).

[10] Harding & Williams, *Toughest of Them All*, p. 121.

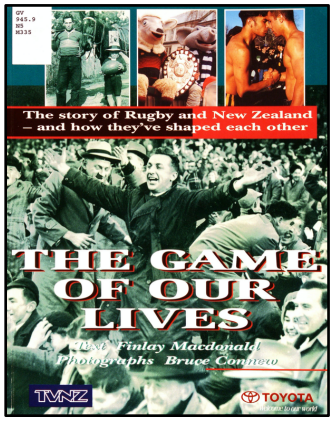
[11] Ron Palenski, *Rugby: A New Zealand History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015), p. 319.

the New Zealand Rugby Football Union's decision to send the New Zealand Māori side to play in a tournament in South Africa in 1994, he makes the following claims:

> [T]he NZRFU has managed in no small way to help tear down the barriers of apartheid in sport by, when possible, continuing relations with South Africa. For that the NZRFU deserves unlimited praise. More than any sport or country in the world, New Zealand rugby has weighed in with impact in helping extinguish sports participation by race in South Africa.[12]

Much like the texts in Chapter Three (see Table Four), the works I deconstruct here offer a very particular representation of the tour which is largely determined by what is excluded. They reflect a narrative that 1981 can be understood as predominantly defined by a campaign against apartheid. It is a story which emphasises opposition to apartheid within New Zealand which amplifies the notion of supposedly excellent race relations. In these representations, rugby is consciously constructed as a virtuous institution which aided in the removal of apartheid.

Finlay Macdonald & Bruce Connew, *The Game of Our Lives* (1996)



Originally aired as a four-part television documentary and later reworked as a book, *The Game of Our Lives* interrogates "New Zealand's social history through rugby".[13] Author Finlay Macdonald (who also wrote the documentary script) discusses what he believes to be rugby's generally positive influence on New Zealand society between 1870-1995.[14] "Like some strange muddied mirror", Macdonald muses, rugby reflected "who we were, and why we are who we are".[15] New Zealand's "growing up" can be "charted through its favourite game", or so he believes.[16] In contrast to the overtly celebratory narratives from Chapter Three, *The Game of Our Lives* recognises rugby as a

[12] "NZ rugby sends the wrong message", *Sunday Star-Times*, 13 March 1994.

[13] Finlay Macdonald & Bruce Connew, *The Game of Our Lives: the story of rugby and New Zealand and how they've shaped each other* (Auckland: Viking, 1996), p. 2.

[14] The book is listed as compiled by Finlay Macdonald and Bruce Connew. However, Macdonald is listed as the author, while Connew was responsible for the book's images.

[15] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 1.

[16] *Ibid*.

metaphor which "can be used to define and describe the good *and* the bad of New Zealand society".[17] Rugby, he continues, reflected what New Zealanders wanted to see about themselves, "and sometimes what we did not"; "a source of pride *and* shame" [emphasis added].[18] Macdonald devotes a chapter to the 1981 tour. In "Path to '81" (Part Three of the documentary) Macdonald constructs the tour as the apex of the New Zealand-South Africa rugby relationship. He interlaces his words with extracts from interviewees from the documentary.[19] Importantly, his interviewees tell us something about his ideological interpretation of the tour: they are all opposed.

For Macdonald, 1981 represents the conclusion of a process which started long before the election of the apartheid regime in 1948. Since the 1920s racial controversies had underpinned the rugby relationship between the two countries. The tour is represented as the end product of a process set in motion by excluding Māori players like Ranji Wilson, George Nepia, and Jimmy Mill from South Africa's fields. "In the history of New Zealand race relations", the documentary narrator tells viewers, "rugby has not been a spectator, it has been a player".[20] Traditionally considered "a great leveller…a game for both races", South African racial controversies disrupted the game's egalitarian image: "maybe, some began to think, the great melting pot of rugby was not the racially indifferent arena that New Zealanders had come to assume it was".[21] Macdonald's representation demonstrates a more complicated and critical understanding of rugby than generally allowed for by the egalitarian narrative.

Interrogating the text's literary dimensions reveals an ideologically liberal narrative. Again, White's contention of ideological difference as matter of emphasis is important.[22] There is little

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[17] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 1.

[18] *Ibid*.

[19] Interviewees include: Marilyn Waring, a National Party MP in 1981; Murray Ball, a former junior All Black and satirical cartoonist; Greg McGee, most well-known for his critical play *Foreskin's Lament* (1980) which challenged rugby culture and anticipated the social upheavals caused by the tour; David Lange, who took over as Prime Minister after his Labour Party defeated Robert Muldoon in 1984; Tony Reid, who covered the tour as a journalist; Māori anti-apartheid activist, Syd Jackson; New Zealand fictional author, Lloyd Jones; former All Black and President of the NZRFU, John Graham, celebrated as a "man of principle" by his 2017 obituaries for opposing the 1981 tour; Ian Fraser, a journalist and broadcaster who covered the tour; New Zealand historian and journalist, Ron Palenski; Ian Cross, former head of the New Zealand Broadcasting Commission; Jim Perry, nephew of George Nepia; and Geoff Chapple.

[20] *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties* (George Andrews Productions: 1996) Directed by John Carlaw.

[21] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, pp. 81, 97.

[22] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 25.

to suggest that Macdonald desires imminent structural changes to counter a dysfunctional New Zealand society (common to radical ideologies). Rather, the need for fine tunings to secure moderately paced change shapes the narrative's ideologically liberal position.[23] Macdonald conceives New Zealand society as generally sound, having "changed immeasurably" to the advantage of "Māori-Pākehā relations, trading partners, [and] the role of women".[24] As such, the kind of change he advocates emphasises continuities with the existing social structure. Nevertheless, he recognises that parts still required change. "Rugby hadn't kept up [with social changes]", Macdonald notes, and "large sections of society openly scorned the game and its associated aggressive male culture".[25] This corresponds with a liberal ideology. Macdonald's emphasis on change runs counter to a conservative ideology but he does not advocate reconstituting society (i.e. a radical ideology).

The desirability of change is emphasised by critical representations of maintaining the status quo. Marilyn Waring, one of Macdonald's interviewees, believed that New Zealanders had grown "really tired of the tyranny of white man's culture, exemplified by rugby and all that it meant".[26] Lloyd Jones similarly finds the prevailing status quo in 1981 problematic, attributing the protests to "incredible frustration that the country just wasn't shifting".[27] New Zealanders, he continues, "were dominated by a very grey regime [and] a very grey lifestyle and the game filtered into every area of life and perhaps had too much influence"; rugby was "dictating our foreign policy", that was "unacceptable to everybody".[28] These extracts reject the status quo. They signify a need for change beyond the 'natural rhythm' that conservatives accept.[29]

Macdonald believes that the tour was a catalyst for progressive change. For instance, he cites former All Black John Graham, an avid opponent of the tour, who believed that it facilitated "the growing up of the nation in terms of its approach to sport"; "a most significant change".[30] Metaphorically, this maturing denotes a social rhythm of change which corresponds with

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[23] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24; Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 172.
[24] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 107.
[25] *Ibid*.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 106.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.
[30] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 106.

liberalism rather than the evolutionary or 'natural' rhythm advocated by conservatives. The shift is away from the prevailing social conditions in 1981 where sport occupies an 'immature' place in New Zealand society and maturation constitutes an "educational process" which White associates with a liberal pace of change.[31] In essence, the tour in Macdonald's representation embodies a learning process for a nation which now holds a better appreciation for the future place of sport in society.

Finally, the pace of change in Macdonald's representation corresponds with a liberal ideology. He notes that "the next decade and half" would demonstrate whether rugby could "find a new place" in, and reconcile itself with, New Zealand society.[32] This statement encapsulates a liberal ideology as conceptualised by White because it "imagine[s] a time in the future" when progressive improvement will be achieved.[33] Macdonald projects an improved state of rugby 15 years into what White calls the "remote future".[34] This undermines the radical notion of imminent change. Arguably, the benefit of hindsight is central to the time orientation Macdonald envisions for rugby. Because his narrative is situated in a present where the final outcome of the events he writes about are known, Macdonald believes that rugby had reclaimed the socially influential position that it had held before the tour.[35]

Despite the upheavals caused by rugby ties with South Africa, Macdonald's ideology does not undercut the overarching metaphor of virtuous rugby. The tour chapter (and televised episode) is framed by a good spirited match between the predominantly white team from Buller, on New Zealand's west coast of the South Island, and a Māori team from Rangitukia, on the east coast of the North Island. The match is a metaphorical representation of the role Macdonald believes rugby performs in New Zealand: "a genuine force that binds", an entity "far more than just a game or a pastime", and "a way of life".[36] Rugby, Macdonald insists, "unite[d]" New Zealanders and provided "common ground". The Buller-East Coast match captured this unity

[31] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.

[32] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 107.

[33] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25.

[34] *Ibid*.

[35] White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", p. 7.

[36] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 76; *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties*. Directed by John Carlaw, 1996.

by bringing together Māori and Pākehā.[37] "On the field we can be colour blind" the narrator tells viewers during the televised episode.[38] Rugby becomes a metaphor for the country's racial harmony, evidenced by George Nepia, "a young Māori from the backblocks", becoming the country's "first sporting superstar".[39] In this respect, the game is a metonym, synonymous with New Zealanders' most coveted values. Macdonald presents the virtues of the game as a way to frame this troublesome period for New Zealand rugby. In this way, he ensures that the reader/viewer does not lose sight of what he wants to convey as the real value of the game.

Macdonald's representation of the tour, and rugby contact with South Africa more generally, suggests that he believes the certainties of the game's virtues were momentarily disrupted. He believes that, paradoxically, the "love for rugby" also contained "seeds of hatred" which, contrary to egalitarian representations of the game, would "divide and disillusion" New Zealanders.[40] The "street warfare" during the tour and "the hatred … on both sides" attested to this.[41] "A society seemingly united by rugby began to move on," the narrator tells viewers, "wandering away from the certainties of rugby culture".[42] The game had come to represent for some "the tyranny" of Pākehā male culture, a symbol of "difference [and] of intolerance", and had not kept up with changes in society.[43] As a result, New Zealanders' "embrace" of the game "slowly loosened".[44] Reflecting this separation, journalist Tony Reid comments: "we were meant to be one people, we were meant to like rugby, and we weren't anymore".[45]

The disruption caused by the tour and South Africa's racial politics is, however, only temporary. Despite the game's fall from grace, rugby's virtue was restored as New Zealand society matured. The game "weather[s] the storms of the 1980s", or so Macdonald believes,

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[37] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 76; *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties*. Directed by John Carlaw, 1996. Such claims further entrench the popular narrative that rugby has been performing this role since "Māori took to the game with such verve and enthusiasm in the 1870s" (p. 76). However, Watson and Ryan (2018) depart from this, arguing instead that "the popular mythology of sport as a unifying element between Māori and Pākehā masks a more complex reality of paternalism, selective inclusion and series of socio-economic and geographical impediments that denied most Māori easy access to [European sport] before 1914" (p. 141). For more, See: Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 141-144.

[38] *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties*. Directed by John Carlaw, 1996.

[39] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 77.

[40] *Ibid*., pp. 75, 76.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 104, 105.

[42] *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties*. Directed by John Carlaw, 1996.

[43] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 1.

[44] *Ibid*., pp. 106, 107.

[45] *Ibid*., p. 104.

and "the wounds caused by New Zealand's long insistence of rugby at any cost have healed".[46] The documentary concludes by returning to its initial metaphor, a reminder to the viewer that here is the real value of rugby. As represented by Buller and East Coast, "the game is once again a force that binds and brings together, not divides".[47] It virtuousness even shelters Māori in rural Rangitukia from the harsh reality of "permanent recession, increased unemployment and reduced welfare payments" – rugby, Macdonald tells the reader, is "something to get excited about" and epitomises "togetherness [and] a sense of achievement".[48]

Perhaps nowhere are Macdonald's representations of the game's virtues more clearly expressed than immediately post-apartheid. He believes that even in South Africa the game was able to consolidate a severely divided country. To illustrate this, Macdonald draws on journalist and broadcaster in 1981, Ian Cross' assessment of Nelson Mandela donning the Springbok jersey – "once a badge of his oppressor" – at the 1995 Rugby World Cup final as symbolic of the game's virtue to overcome difference and unite: "Nelson Mandela…saw in rugby something that we ourselves have found over the past hundred years – that here is a game that can be more than a game".[49] Of course, Cross' assessment of rugby is meant to highlight the good in the game while silencing the racism, patriarchal gender relations, Pākehā masculinity, and intolerant conservatism identified by activists in 1981. Nevertheless, Macdonald consistently tropes rugby as virtuous and performing a metonymical function for New Zealand's cultural values. Arguably, his representation of 1981 too is metonymical. He reduces the tour to a 'bad apple' in an otherwise virtuous history (and representation) of the game in New Zealand. In this respect, the virtuous metaphor is only momentarily disrupted, but not inalterably changed. Rugby as a metaphor for virtue governs the narrative from start to finish.

In light of the above, it is unsurprising that Macdonald emplots his narrative as a romance. Notably, he sees a process of reconciliation occurring between rugby and society but within

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[46] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 109; *The Game of Our Lives: Tries and Penalties*. Directed by John Carlaw,1996.

[47] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 109.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 76.

[49] *Ibid*., p. 110. The exchange of 'thank-yous' that occurred at the Rugby World Cup final between Nelson Mandela and Francois Pienaar is further addressed by Grant Farred. However, Farred believes that the event has become over-represented, by which he means that the manner in which the world received the event differs from individual experiences of the same event. The extract that Macdonald cites from Ian Cross is an example of the dominant narrative which emerged from that event and continues to be over-represented. See: Grant Farred, *The Burden of Over-Representation: Race, Sport, and Philosophy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2018).

the greater ambit of a romance as opposed to a comedy which also emphasises reconciliation. White does, after all, consider reconciliation to be a form of triumph.[50] The narrative develops as the gradual, but not permanent, separation of rugby and New Zealand society over South Africa, the pinnacle of which occurs in 1981. Rugby had become "symbolic of difference, of intolerance, of our place in the world in a negative sense" and the All Blacks no longer "purported to represent all New Zealanders".[51] However, Macdonald constructs his narrative to suggest an incremental process of reconciliation in the wake of the tour.[52]

The fallout from the 1986 Cavaliers 'rebel' tour begins this process: by distancing itself from the tour, reprimanding those who were involved, and all but severing its ties with the SARB, the NZRFU, somewhat paradoxically, wound up "on the side with its old foe, the anti-tour movement".[53] Macdonald draws on Palenski to consolidate this point: "the Cavaliers were good because by 1985 they were doing the wrong thing and all of a sudden the Rugby Union was seen to be doing the right thing".[54] In the wake of the Cavaliers tour, South Africa was "now off the itinerary" and the NZRFU was able to somewhat reconcile itself with New Zealand society by demonstrating that it would not play rugby at any cost.[55] Macdonald believes that reconciliation between rugby and New Zealand was achieved because the former "remade itself" as a more "honed, polished, [and] more PR conscious" institution.[56] The All Blacks' triumph in the 1987 Rugby World Cup consolidated this reconciliation.[57]

The collapse of apartheid also contributes to Macdonald's romantic emplotment. He presents this as not only a victory over a racist regime, but a symbolic (posthumous) victory for the Māori All Blacks "touched by the racism of another country". "Seventy-five years after Ranji Wilson stayed on the ship in Cape Town harbour", Macdonald triumphantly notes, "a black president of South Africa put on a Springbok jersey". It is the archetypal romantic victory of

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[50] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.

[51] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, pp. 75, 76, 107.

[52] *Ibid*., p. 107.

[53] *Ibid*., p.109.

[54] *Ibid*.

[55] *Ibid*., p. 110.

[56] *Ibid*., pp. 107, 109.

[57] Ryan and Watson endorse this interpretation of the Rugby World Cup victory in 1987. They note that the tournament, which New Zealand hosted, was "an unequivocal celebration of the game…by its end the players believed for the first time in many years that all of New Zealand was behind them…The division caused by the Springbok tour of 1981 and the Cavaliers tour of South Africa in 1986 was in the past". See: Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 263-264.

good over evil. A chapter in New Zealand's history where South African racial controversies underpinned the Springbok-All Black rivalry was closed and Nelson Mandela "clos[ed] it for New Zealand rugby". For the Māori affected by these racial politics, "their story finally ended" and, for Ian Cross, "this was a happy ending" – again a hallmark of a romantic emplotment. Macdonald concludes that "Mandela's 'long walk to freedom' is an inspiring journey" (typically romantic emplotments develop as a journey) and "New Zealanders were glad to be a part of it". In essence, 1981 becomes New Zealand's contribution to Mandela's journey and the eventual collapse of apartheid. For the 1981 protestors too, the narrative concludes with victory. The collapse of apartheid and Mandela's freedom "seemed to elicit an unspoken acknowledgement that the protests had been right".[58]

Macdonald primarily employs a contextualist explanation of the tour by situating it within its circumambient historical present. Central to his explanation is the role of apartheid: "the struggle for justice in a foreign land would become a painful part of history in New Zealand. In 1981 the civil war in South Africa spilled over…onto the streets of New Zealand".[59] Similarly, Macdonald's context explains why "New Zealanders were so incensed by sporting contact with South Africa".[60] The preceding quote foregrounds apartheid as the primary context for the protests and silences those narratives that emphasise New Zealand's domestic context. Where the latter is raised, it is done somewhat vacuously. For instance, Macdonald argues that the tour inflamed passions to the extent that it did because "only rugby carried the implicit imprimatur of the entire nation. Only the All Blacks purported to represent all New Zealanders. Only rugby meant more than just a game".[61] The only domestic context of significance according to Macdonald was one agent: Robert Muldoon. Here Macdonald draws on a comment by playwriter Greg McGee: "There was a lot of mixed up agendas within that protest movement…one of the strongest was an anti-Muldoon sentiment…there were a lot of people…who recognised that tour as Muldoon's cynical attempt to appeal to the rural marginals, and were protesting against that".[62]

[58] Macdonald and Connew, *The Game of Our Lives*, p. 110.
[59] *Ibid*., p. 75.
[60] *Ibid*.
[61] *Ibid*.
[62] *Ibid*., p. 103.

It is notable that the Muldoon context does not undermine Macdonald's belief in the virtues of rugby. Neither does Marilyn Waring's argument that the "tyranny of white man's culture [was] exemplified by rugby and all that it meant", which Macdonald cites but never expands on.[63] He does not deem this representation of the game as a significant explanation for 1981 or rugby's position in New Zealand. Rather, he explains the conflict stemming from the tour as a result of the campaign against apartheid and, to a significantly lesser extent, dissatisfaction with the Muldoon regime. As with virtually all the popular histories I have examined thus far, Macdonald silences any narratives pertaining to domestic racism or gender politics, which the activist histories from Chapter Two link to rugby and the protests in 1981. The highly positive role he regards rugby as playing in New Zealand society remains unquestioned and unquestionable.

Notwithstanding this contextualisation, Macdonald displays elements of formism. For example, he characterises the 1981 tour as an outlier in an otherwise untainted history. "Unlike other test series in rugby history", Macdonald writes, "there is no cherished collective memory of the games" in 1981.[64] Emphasising the distinctiveness of the 1981 tour, Macdonald notes that rugby was

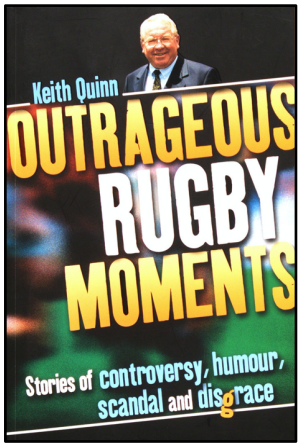
> one part of life where the country could face the world and come first, not cringe or explain why. It was common cause, identity and entertainment rolled together. But 1981 turned that on its head.[65]

Similarly, Macdonald also cites Tony Reid who represents the tour as unique. Reid describes the crowd in Hamilton as "bewildered" by the pitch occupation.[66] Their perplexity arises from its uniqueness: this was not something New Zealanders had experienced before, particularly not on the rugby field. The tour continues to bewilder: "Long after the tour", Macdonald opines, "the answer to the question 'Why?' is still elusive".[67] For Reid, too, the tour remains a peculiarity: "…you would have thought this far on…you should be able to look back and say

[63] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Live*, p. 106.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 100.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 107.
[66] *Ibid*., p. 104.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 100.

what those forces were. It should be reasonably clear by now, but I don't think it is".[68] "What it meant for New Zealand is still not entirely clear", Macdonald contends, underlining the highly complex and nuanced nature of context.[69]

Keith Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments* (2002)



Keith Quinn is amongst New Zealand's most renowned sports commentators, having spent well over forty years covering, authoring, and reporting on the country's sport. Quinn is perhaps best known as a rugby commentator. At the time of authoring *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, he had travelled with the All Blacks on thirty-one overseas tours and broadcast no less than 150 test matches. This includes covering the 1981 tour for Television New Zealand. Like many media personnel who covered the tour, Quinn was opposed and protested in his own way: "I commentated on the Springbok matches, but refused to do any other work on the tour, such as covering news stories".[70] He opposed the tour because of apartheid. "I had been to South Africa and seen the problems there", Quinn reflected, and "I hated what South Africa stood for at that time".[71] His anti-apartheid position governs his representation of the tour.

In *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, Quinn deals with the tour in two chapters. The first is titled "To Our Eternal Shame: South Africa and the Māori Debate". Here Quinn details a history of how South African racial politics have impacted on Māori in New Zealand, beginning with the exclusion of Ranji Wilson in 1919 to the eventual severing of Springbok-All Black ties following the 1986 Cavaliers 'rebel' tour. While the chapter does not deal explicitly with the 1981 tour – other than the threadbare observation that it was a "bitter, divisive tour" – it acts as a background for the next chapter, "Rugby Under Siege: Graham Mourie and the 1981 Springbok tour".[72] Here Quinn represents the tour "through the eyes of one of the most

[68] Macdonald & Connew, *The Game of Our Live*, p. 106.
[69] *Ibid*., p. 75.
[70] Keith Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments: Stories of controversy, humour, scandal and disgrace* (Auckland: Hodder Moa Becket, 2002), p. 144.
[71] *Ibid*., p. 143.
[72] *Ibid*., p. 125.

prominent objectors, Graham Mourie".[73] Narrating the tour in this manner privileges an anti-tour, anti-apartheid position. Mourie – the incumbent All Black captain in 1981 – withdrew from the tour on moral grounds, citing his objection to apartheid as his principal reason for so doing.[74] Quinn's own opposition to the tour, coupled with his love for rugby, arguably explains why he chooses to represent the tour through Mourie – a player highly respected for his rugby ability but who would also not compromise his morals. "I held the All Black captain in high esteem", Quinn writes, "but my admiration for him rose immensely when he announced that he would not be available to play against the Springboks in 1981".[75]

Quinn's narration of the tour displays elements of both a liberal and radical ideological position. The disparity between Quinn's representations of social change in New Zealand and South African societies lends itself to two clearly discernible ideological positions. His liberal ideology can be largely detected in his representations of New Zealand society as fundamentally socially sound. In neither chapter does Quinn feel the need to implicate New Zealand society in either the historic exclusion of Māori from South African tours or the 1981 tour. While occasionally critical of some parts of his own society, Quinn's representation of the tour rests on linking it to the anti-apartheid campaign. In accordance with a liberal ideology, he does not oppose change. For instance, he characterises protests in the 1960s against Māori exclusion from South Africa's rugby fields as precipitating "winds of change".[76] So too, he believes that the fallout from the 1981 tour prompted "the development of our nation".[77] However, the language he uses to characterise these changes resonates with the progressive 'social' rhythm liberals believe is best for achieving moderately paced change.[78] He casts no aspersions on New Zealand in the manner of Chapple, Newnham, Freeman and Hollins. Nor does he cite these authors in his bibliography, an example of authorial selectivity which has implications for how he chooses to represent the tour. Ultimately, Quinn's representation

[73] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 10.

[74] A peculiarity in Mourie's logic was that he publicly stated that had he been selected for the All Blacks in 1976 to tour South Africa he would almost certainly have gone; and that had the All Blacks being touring South Africa in 1981, he would strongly have considered going. These statements have opened him up to criticism, for instance from David Williams, who in *Toughest of them All* – despite sharing a similar moral objection to apartheid - writes that the "hypocrisy and confused thinking" made it "difficult to understand or respect the thinking of a Graham Mourie" (p. 122).

[75] Quin, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, 142.

[76] *Ibid*., p. 123.

[77] *Ibid*., p. 148.

[78] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 172.

distances New Zealand society from the kinds of problems experienced in South Africa and the type of change needed there.

Conversely, his representation of the "horror" of apartheid suggests a desire to radically transform a dysfunctional society. Quinn wanted changes to South Africa (so much so that the tour becomes about little else), insisting that he had "recoiled at the way blacks were treated" when he visited the country.[79] Critical representations of apartheid permeate both chapters and his decision to narrate the tour through Mourie; he underscores this representation by privileging those facts which support Mourie's position.[80] Accordingly, "protestors were appalled at the apartheid laws in South Africa, and felt that by inviting the Springboks to tour, New Zealand was giving tacit approval to such a regime".[81] The problems which gave rise to the tour lie with South Africa, not New Zealand. There is a sense of relief in Quinn's contention that the 1986 Cavaliers "*finally* spelt the end of New Zealand's rugby relations with South Africa, at least until that country's abhorrent apartheid laws were dismantled" [emphasis added].[82] There is also a temporal element to this extract which resonates with a radical ideology. It anticipates a time when apartheid has been dismantled. However, unlike liberals who project change into the distant future, Quinn's consistent and overtly hostile language towards apartheid suggests that he wanted quick, radical, change.[83] Accordingly, his representation implied that New Zealand would not be free from racial controversies until South Africa removed apartheid and became a non-racial society.

Unsurprisingly, considering Quinn's omission of any reference to New Zealand's own racial problems, he viewed the 1981 tour as part of the anti-apartheid campaign which became his primary trope.[84] His representation suggests that the tour is identical to, or at the very least symbolic of a shared quality with, the anti-apartheid movement. White considers this typical of a synecdochic comprehension.[85] Quinn insists that while "the anti-apartheid movement gathered force throughout the world", it was "particularly well organised in New Zealand" by

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[79] Quin, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 125.

[80] For more examples of Quinn reinforcing Mourie's position, see: pp. 142-143, 148, 149.

[81] Quin, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, 144.

[82] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[83] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 172.

[84] Importantly, Quinn does not suggest that the campaign against the tour was a *vital* part of the anti-apartheid movement without which it would not be able to function properly, in which case he would be affecting a reduction and his troping of the tour would be metonymical.

[85] White, *Metahistory*, p. 34

the time of the tour.[86] By constantly characterising the tour as an anti-apartheid endeavour, Quinn seems to have comprehended the tour as a microcosmic replication of the greater campaign against South Africa's white regime. This feeds into those narratives around New Zealand and race which present the 1981 tour as a struggle against racism and which make no mention of the sold-out rugby stadiums, or the fact that Muldoon, who allowed the tour to proceed, was re-elected after the tour, or that many Māori used the tour to highlight their racial experiences. Equally important is that Quinn's comprehension of the tour does little to challenge the notion of rugby as virtuous. Despite New Zealand rugby's historically friendly ties with racist South Africa, Quinn remains sceptical that this friendship was tantamount to support for apartheid; in his view, this was merely a "perception" which required a "small leap" in consciousness for it to be believed.[87]

Despite his belief that "there weren't many winners" in 1981, Quinn has emplotted his representation as a romance.[88] Triumph is a recurring theme in the narrative. A defining characteristic of a romantic emplotment is the struggle to overcome adversity and this is precisely how Quinn represents Mourie's decision not to take part in the tour. He had "risked everything for principle" - being "branded a traitor by a rugby-mad country" and "the scorn of a nation" - but emerges from the tour with his "reputation enhanced" and "increased…stature", or at least so Quinn believes.[89] "Mourie was right", he argues, and so too were the anti-apartheid protestors.[90] Quinn's representation proceeds as a series of victories for the protestors: Hamilton "was a victory for the anti-tour people", as was the cancelation of the South Canterbury match.[91] Overall victory is cemented by the isolation of South African rugby following the Cavaliers 'rebel' tour. It was "the final nail in the coffin", Quinn believes, and South Africa became "a no-go area for New Zealand rugby", at least "until that country's

[86] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 124.

[87] *Ibid*., p. 125. It can be argued, though, that Quinn's text *reads* metonymically in the sense that complexity is reduced to simplicity. The tour was infinitely more complex than simply being a protest against apartheid – a point reinforced by many of the protesters. As Chapple observed in 1984, "the tour had…grown far beyond the original anti-apartheid issue. It now defined a whole belief system about what was right and wrong about New Zealand itself" (Chapple, 1984: p. 186). Yet, Quinn's reluctance or inability to recognise any particular dysfunction in his own society reads metonymically because he reduces the tour to being (virtually exclusively) an anti-apartheid campaign.

[88] *Ibid*., p. 148.

[89] *Ibid*., pp. 148, 149.

[90] *Ibid*., p. 143.

[91] *Ibid*., p. 145.

abhorrent apartheid laws were dismantled".[92] Given Quinn's emphasis on the campaign against apartheid, his romantic emplotment is consolidated by the eventual collapse of apartheid. In essence, Quinn's narrative renders protestors victorious by stopping rugby relations between South Africa and New Zealand and by contributing to the collapse of apartheid.

Quinn frequently makes observations about the distinctiveness of the tour which could be interpreted as a formist explanation. For instance, he believes that 1981 "was the strangest season in New Zealand rugby history"; that the conditions under which matches were played were "unprecedented"; and that the final test "was no ordinary match".[93] But while such extracts demonstrate Quinn's understanding of the tour as something unique, they do not explain why the tour happened the way it did. Here Quinn appeals to context; apartheid provides the overarching and inescapable context to the tour. "The anti-tour protestors were appalled at the apartheid laws in South Africa", Quinn insists, and they "felt that by inviting the Springboks to tour, New Zealand was giving tacit approval to such a regime".[94]

A contextualist argument can also be detected in what White calls the "wavelike motion" of historical time in which "certain phases or culminations are considered to be intrinsically more significant than others".[95] While historians (almost) universally identify the origin of the events they analyse, contextualists tend to explain the event under study as the metaphorical crest of the wave whose actions were set in motion sometime in the past. This is evident in Quinn's explanations of the 1981 tour. His chapter on Māori exclusions from South African rugby fields sets the stage for the tour but he also describes it as being set in motion by the gradual development of opposition to rugby ties between the two countries.

Accordingly, his argument unfolds something like this: in New Zealand, opposition to playing against South Africa "had its roots decades earlier".[96] "The first inkling of what was to follow came when Ranji Wilson…was not permitted to join his team-mates in South Africa" in 1919 and, in so doing, became "an early victim of South African racism".[97] Soon after "Charles

[92] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, pp. 121, 126.
[93] *Ibid*., pp. 144, 145, 146.
[94] *Ibid*., p. 144.
[95] White, *Metahistory*, p. 19.
[96] Quin, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 126.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 121.

Blackett…really opened New Zealanders' eyes to how racist white South Africans were" and by 1949 "the first anti-racism, anti-tour march [took place] in the streets of Wellington".[98] Events in South Africa, particularly the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the Soweto uprising in 1976, "add[ed] impetus to the protestors' pleas".[99] By the 1970s "the protest movement was not simply calling for players of all colours to be permitted to tour South Africa. It was calling for no more tours until the apartheid laws were repealed".[100] Understanding what came before it is critical to Quinn in explaining why the 1981 tour unfolded as it did. The particular form it took can be explained by the long process of developing disquiet about playing against South Africa, or so Quinn contextualises events.

Fundamentally, though, Quinn's narrative – while implicating rugby with the racial politics of apartheid – does little to challenge the virtue of the game. Considering his chapter title, "Rugby Under Siege", he seems to be suggesting that the game was the principal victim of the South Africa-New Zealand relationship (as opposed to reinforcing the social shortcomings of each society as numerous other representations claim). However, in comparison to the texts deconstructed in Chapter Three, Quinn's representation is indicative of a change in narrative around the tour. For instance, an argument which predominates across these earlier accounts is to insist that apartheid could and had been removed from rugby in South Africa and that therefore the tour should have been allowed to continue. Quinn disagrees: "Let's not beat around the bush. The Springbok team was racially chosen, as it had always been. There was one coloured player…it was hard not to think they were token gestures".[101] So too, Quinn disagrees with the highly critical and recurring representations in Chapter Three of protestors as violent troublemakers. Instead, he argues that "some of the protestors and demonstrators were turning up because there was the chance of a stoush with police…but these people remained in a minority; most protestors were there because of a strongly held belief that the tour should not proceed".[102]

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[98] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, pp. 121, 123. Charles Blackett was a South African journalist who accompanied the Springboks on their 1921 tour of New Zealand. Reporting on the Springboks' match against the New Zealand Māori, Blackett telegrammed his article back to South Africa, which read: it was "the most unfortunate match ever played" and that it was "bad enough having [to] play [a] team officially designated New Zealand natives, but [the] spectacle [of] thousands [of] Europeans frantically cheering on [a] band of coloured men to defeat members of [their] own race was too much for [the] Springboks, who [were] frankly disgusted". The telegram was intercepted in New Zealand and publicised.

[99] *Ibid*., p. 123.

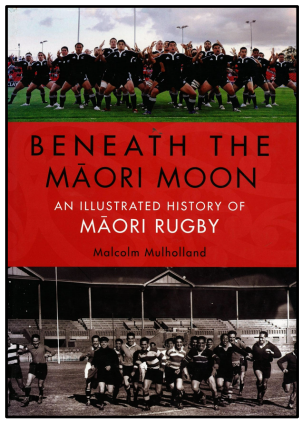
[100] *Ibid*., p. 124.

[101] *Ibid*., p. 144.

[102] *Ibid*.

However, like the texts from the epoch of 1987-1994, Quinn is never explicitly critical of the place of rugby in New Zealand. He does not question whether – as numerous other representations claim - rugby reinforced a particular form of gender relations, sustained a culture of violence, or entrenched stereotypical and racist ideas about Māori. Rather, he insists that the game's officials and administrators bore responsibility for the "stench and taint" of the game following 1981.[103] In this respect, Quinn's criticisms are aimed at the custodians of the game in New Zealand for their "head in the sand attitude" and the "unbelievable" decision by the National government to permit the 1981 tour.[104] Rugby as a virtuous institution remains unchallenged by Quinn.

Malcolm Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon: An Illustrated History of Māori Rugby* (2009)



In *Beneath the Māori Moon* (a reference to a popular 1936 song sung by former All Black George Nepia), Malcolm Mulholland provides a chronology of rugby played by the New Zealand Māori (currently known as the Māori All Blacks). Mulholland is a senior researcher and self-proclaimed "rugby buff" at the School of Māori Studies, Massey University, where he also earned his Ph.D. for a study of New Zealand national identity as depicted through the Ka Mate haka (made popular by the All Blacks), the national flag and anthem. He has written extensively on Māori issues for several newspapers. The New Zealand Māori team is selected on the basis of their Māori genealogy and ability as rugby players. Historically, the team has drawn mixed reactions because of its explicitly racial composition. Mulholland notes that "some of the public make comparisons between New Zealand Māori and apartheid South Africa".[105] For example, the article by Bob South I draw on in the introduction to this chapter makes the argument that: "there simply can be no justification for racially selected teams anywhere in the world today. From the Harlem Globetrotters, to the Springboks, to the Māori…selecting a Māori [rugby] side still remains an offensive act based on arbitrary

[103] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 148.

[104] *Ibid*., pp. 125, 126.

[105] Malcolm Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon: An Illustrated History of Māori rugby* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2009), p. xii.

limitations of race".[106] Nevertheless, Mulholland maintains that "nothing could be further from the truth".[107] The text spans nearly 140 years of Māori rugby history between 1870 to 2010, and accordingly offers relatively condensed representations. Moreover, it is predominantly an illustrated history. As with Tom Newnham's text in Chapter Two which is also an illustrated history, an extensive analysis of the visual representations in Mulholland's text is beyond the scope of this research. I do, however, draw on or highlight images that reinforce Mulholland's literary representation of the tour.

In his preface, Mulholland's offers a politicised, metonymical representation of Māori involvement in rugby, insisting that the game has "reflected the mood of Māori off the field more time than not".[108] The "New Zealand Māori have ridden the waves of Māori discontent and jubilation", he contends.[109] Unsurprisingly, the influence of apartheid on Māori rugby is a prominent theme in the text. However, Mulholland's representation of the 1981 tour is vacuous and he spends a significant amount of time detailing the match between the New Zealand Māori and the Springboks and the "passion and pride" with which the Māori played.[110] Like many popular histories, his chapter on the tour resembles a reconstructionist history, reporting mostly on the 'facts' of what happened without offering much critical analysis. While these 'facts' clearly privilege an anti-tour, anti-apartheid version of the event, discerning Mulholland's ideology is difficult. His text offers little by way of what White conceptualises as ideology based on the desirability, pace and time orientation of change.

Nevertheless, I identify a broad radical ideology in the work. In addition to arguing for the removal of apartheid and the reconstitution of South African society, Mulholland entangles the ill treatment of Māori rugby players by New Zealand's rugby authorities with apartheid. Before Māori rugby achieved parity with Pākehā rugby, apartheid would have to be dismantled. According to Mulholland, there was a historical tendency within the New Zealand Rugby

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[106] "NZ rugby sends the wrong message", *Sunday Star-Times*, 13 March 1994.

[107] Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon*, p. xii.

[108] *Ibid*., p. xiii.

[109] *Ibid*.

[110] *Ibid*., p. 195. For Mulholland's description of the Māori-Springbok match, see: pp. 195-198. Mulholland makes no comment on the naivety of some of the justifications offered by Māori who played in this match. For instance, he cites the recollections of former All Black Buck Shelford, who played in the match: "the demonstrators in the crowd were making incredible noise, hissing taunts like 'racist pigs' and that type of abuse, but it didn't wash with us. After all, the Springboks had Errol Tobias in their side" (p. 195). Shelford's observation seems to suggest that the Springboks were not a racially selected side and that Tobias was not a political selection. Mulholland offers no comment on this.

Union (NZRU) to "place more importance on their relationship with the SARB than the New Zealand Māori team".[111] He insists that traditionally these "highly profitable" contests "for world supremacy" had occurred at the expense of Māori, primarily by their exclusion from South African tours.[112] Historically, the NZRU had been "remiss" in its responsibilities toward Māori rugby, Mulholland insists, and "whenever the apartheid question came to a head, Māori rugby took a back seat".[113] For Mulholland, 1981 was no exception. Despite opposition from the New Zealand Māori Council, Robert Muldoon "had a white rugby-loving majority to please" and the tour proceeded with little consideration of playing against a racist regime.[114]

Mulholland also identifies the need for his own society to be restructured to rid it of racism. The tour, he believes, "highlighted…the deep-seated racial divisions within [New Zealand] society".[115] For many Māori, the tour became a proxy through which they challenged domestic racism. Groups like *Patu* – comprised of Māori protestors who became known for charging police lines during the tour – "used the situation to make connections between apartheid in South Africa and racism in New Zealand".[116] Mulholland reinforces his point by concluding his representation of the tour with a quote from well-known Māori activist, Donna Awatere-Huata: "Before the tour, about half of all non-Māori New Zealanders considered racism to be abhorrent. After the tour, those same people realised that what was happening in New Zealand was different in degree but not in kind from what was happening in South Africa".[117] For Mulholland, representing the tour as a revelation of the racism in New Zealand arguably encompasses a divisive society where Māori occupy subordinate status. This resonates with a radical conceptualisation of a dysfunctional society.

Because Mulholland reads the tour as highlighting a dysfunctional New Zealand society, this influences his trope. A broadly political trope preforming a synecdochic function underpins his representation. While his representation of the tour is relatively politically muted (offering instead a comparatively detailed reconstruction of the Springbok-Māori match), his introduction politicises rugby contact with apartheid South Africa: the Springboks were "a

[111] Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon*, p. xii.
[112] *Ibid*.
[113] *Ibid*., p. xiii.
[114] *Ibid*., pp. 192, 193.
[115] *Ibid*., p. 200.
[116] *Ibid*.
[117] *Ibid*., p. 201.

visible manifestation of apartheid" and their presence exposed New Zealand's own racism.[118] Mulholland demonstrates the coalescence of apartheid and New Zealand's racial politics with an image of protestors holding two banners from an anti-tour march in 1981. One contains an anti-apartheid phrase: "Springbok, the big white lie; Amandla to the ANC-PAC". The second banner reads "*Ka whawhai tonu matou! Ake! Ake! Ake!* [We will fight on for ever and ever]", a phrase synonymous with Māori liberation struggles.[119] By including the image of these banners, Mulholland effectively offers a politicised representation of the tour which integrated it into an ongoing struggle for Māori. In so doing, his political metaphor is synecdochic because it highlights racism against Māori and, accordingly, the tour is integrated into the greater racial inequalities in New Zealand society which extend beyond sport.

Mulholland's representation of the tour is tragic. While his section on the tour contains more of a termination – he abruptly ends with the extract from Awatere-Huata – than a conclusion explicating the meaning of the story, he consistently characterises Māori experiences with South Africa in an unfailingly tragic light. This is teed up early in the preface when Mulholland characterises New Zealand's rugby relationship with South Africa: "whenever the apartheid question came to a head, Māori rugby took a back seat. Māori players and supporters suffered the insult of being excluded from the South African scene".[120] So too, he consistently characterises the 1981 tour as a tragedy: "The negative impact of sporting relationships between [South Africa and New Zealand] reached its most controversial peak in 1981".[121] It was the "closest this country ever came to civil war" and "should never have happened".[122] The tour was "our biggest mistake", he believes.[123]

Mulholland makes his own objection to the tour apparent by extending sympathy to those who opposed it and his antipathy to its supporters. The "brutality" of violence experienced by protestors is contrasted with the selfishness of those who supported the tour.[124] For instance, he highlights the responses to the tour by Mana Motuhake, a political party pursuing Māori self-determination, and the Māori Women's Coalition who denounced both the tour and the

[118] Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon*, pp. 150, 200, 201.
[119] *Ibid*., p. 196.
[120] *Ibid*., p. xiii.
[121] *Ibid*.
[122] *Ibid*., p. 192.
[123] *Ibid*.
[124] *Ibid*., p. 199.

New Zealand Māori's decision to play against the Springboks: "You are selfish in both attitude and action. As descendants of the indigenous people of Aotearoa, you trample over the indigenous people of Azania by collaborating with their oppressors".[125] So too, Mulholland notes how Māori like Awatere-Huata linked their tragic struggles for liberation and against racism to the tour and what was happening in South Africa.

While tragedy prevails in Mulholland's representations of the tour, it forms part of a predominantly romantic emplotment when reading the text as a whole. Mulholland sees Māori rugby successfully transcending a world where apartheid meant that Māori and their rugby took a backseat. This is evident in his epilogue: "the attitude of the NZRU towards New Zealand Māori seems to have changed from it being a novel idea to help prevent Māori players moving to rugby league, through a period when they considered it an embarrassing anachronism that clouded their relationship with South African rugby, to recent times when the NZRU labelled the team as 'high performance' within its structure".[126] Both the tour and New Zealand's rugby ties with South Africa represent adverse conditions which Māori (and their rugby) transcend.

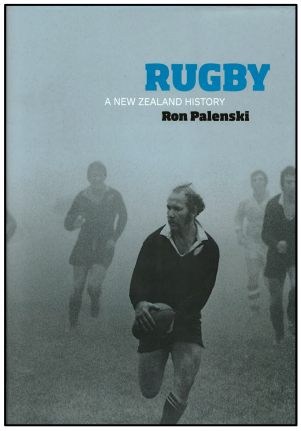
Finally, Mulholland contextualises his argument. Why the tour happened the way it did can be explained by situating it within a multitude of contexts in its circumambient historical present. From the outset, he draws the reader's attention to context by foregrounding in the preface the extent to which Māori rugby has historically been intertwined with the politics of race in South Africa. In this respect, the most obvious contextualist explanation for the tour is apartheid and the campaign against it. Mulholland endorses the position embodied by Graham Mourie that it was morally wrong to play against a team representing a racist regime. Furthermore, he draws on Hiwi Tauroa, New Zealand's Race Relations Conciliator at the time who went to South Africa to ascertain whether there had been enough progress towards integration to justify the tour. Tauroa's recommendation that the tour be postponed because "overall the conditions under apartheid resulted in widespread poverty" were dismissed by Muldoon.[127] Here Mulholland also highlights the prevalence of domestic context in explaining why the tour proceeded. He believed Muldoon "reneg[ed] on his previous comments [in Gleneagles] to stop New Zealand-South Africa sporting relationships" because "many of Nationals' at-risk seats

[125] Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon*, p. 194.
[126] *Ibid*., p. 263.
[127] *Ibid*., p. 193.

were held by slim majorities in rugby-orientated regions".[128] Mulholland characterises the tour as a climactic conclusion to a sporting relationship imbedded with racial controversies.[129]

Mulholland's representation does not question the virtues of rugby. His representation of 1981 is more concerned with recalling the Springbok-Māori match than with the political overtones of the tour. While he is critical of the NZRU – the game's custodians – his celebratory representations of the match do little to evaluate the game or Māori involvement. So too, while he raises the issue of racism exposed by the tour in New Zealand, he also insists that it revealed "the passion many New Zealanders had for rugby".[130] Nor does he return to the implications that the racism laid bare. Rather, Mulholland seems content with his romantic emplotment and its end point that Māori rugby achieved greater respect in New Zealand's rugby structures.

Ron Palenski*, Rugby: A New Zealand History* (2015)



Palenski's book, *Rugby: A New Zealand History* (2015), is an overall narrative history of the country's rugby. As is the case with all of Palenski's work, this is not an academic history and he makes little reference to academic historians.[131] He somewhat dubiously insists that this is because "comparably few in New Zealand have ever bothered much about rugby".[132] While there is some merit to this claim with regard to sport history, this is certainly not the case with the 1981 tour. Its significance and complexity have certainly not gone amiss amongst academic historians. In comparison to much of New Zealand's other rugby history, 1981 (and by extension, the protest movement which developed since the 1950s) has drawn a substantial body of work from academic historians not only in New Zealand, but from

[128] Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon*, pp. 192, 193.

[129] *Ibid*., p. xiii.

[130] *Ibid*., p. 200.

[131] Palenski does draw on political scientist Trevor Richards, an unfailing critic of New Zealand's rugby relations with South Africa. However, his engagement with Richards is trivial (see pages 289 and 328). Palenski misses (or purposely omits) the crux of Richards' argument which implicates New Zealand society for the strength of the protests. For a brief overview of Richards' argument against sporting ties with South Africa, see: Trevor Richards, "Thou Shalt Play! What 60 Years of Controversy over New Zealand's sporting contact with South Africa tell us about ourselves", *New Zealand Studies* 6.2 (1996), pp. 26-32. For a more extensive engagement with Richards' argument, see: Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1999). I discuss this text in Chapter Five.

[132] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. iv.

Australia, South Africa, North America, and the United Kingdom. This raises questions about Palenski's decision to exclude critical research about the tour. Like most of the books in this chapter and in Chapter Three, Palenski overlooks the activist histories which emerged immediately following the tour, focusing instead on popular authors like Terry McLean, Bob Howitt and Warwick Rogers. By excluding academic historians and the activist histories, Palenski omits a large body of critical writing about the tour from his history of New Zealand rugby. This slants his representation of the tour.

Palenski perpetuates the idea that sport – and rugby in particular – is an egalitarian institution. This creates a narrative that depoliticises and decontextualises rugby while simultaneously casting the game as innocent and virtuous. Paradoxically, he warns against the dangers of such narratives. "The great enemy of the truth", he insists by quoting John F. Kennedy, is "the myth; persistent, persuasive and unrealistic".[133] Whether Palenski is professing his book to be an authoritative truth and free of contested narratives about rugby is unclear; it is not (and logically cannot be in a deconstructionist framework). He consistently represents rugby as an egalitarian, virtuous sport: "it is the team element which provides a spur to the weaker spirit, a curb for the selfish and discipline for all. It treats every man as an equal from whatever background he comes. There's no yielding to status in a rugby tackle, there's no privilege in a scrum".[134] So too, class effacing representations occur throughout the narrative: "Even if lives were led in different ways", Palenski believes, "students and laborers, lawyers and truck drivers, doctors and shop workers, all were the same in the freemasonry of rugby".[135]

While he insists that rugby league in Australia has a working-class constituency and that rugby union is upper-middle-class, the game's pervasiveness in New Zealand has meant that "those types of tags could never cling to rugby".[136] This distorts a complex reality of sport and class in New Zealand. While historically these cleavages in New Zealand sport have been muted, it has never been classless. Middle-class patronage has historically been critical in developing and sustaining the country's sport, and rugby in particular was a game bound in middle-class

[133] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 4.

[134] *Ibid*., p. 2. Palenski draws this quote from Richard Wild's keynote address at the New Zealand Rugby Football Union's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1967.

[135] *Ibid*., p. 329.

[136] *Ibid*., p. 7.

ideals.[137] Palenski recognises social class as the occupations he contrasts in the quote above testify. Yet, he insists that rugby remained classless, as if the game occurred within a vacuum but still somehow simultaneously represented the essence of 'New Zealand-ness'. "Since the nineteenth century", Palenski notes, "[rugby] has been a part of what New Zealand is and what New Zealanders are".[138] Any narrative which perpetuates rugby as egalitarian functions by distorting a more complex reality.[139]

So too, Palenski represents Māori involvement in rugby ahistorically. Like Macdonald and Mulholland, he perpetuates the idea that "Māori took to the game as if it was their own".[140] But by representing Māori rugby in this manner, Palenski detaches it from wider contexts, lived experiences, and simplifies the complexities of the game's entanglement with colonial class and racial politics. Scholars like Brendan Hokowhitu offer more historically informed representations of rugby as a site for assimilating Māori into a colonial culture, while also allowing them to "gain public recognition without challenging the dominant [colonial] discourse".[141] John Beynon offers a similar representation of Māori involvement in sport – rugby and cricket in particular – as "an essential preparation both for character and service in Empire".[142] Boarding schools like the Anglican Te Aute College groomed Māori boys in the fashion of the English gentry and, amongst other things, taught them how to play rugby.[143] Hokowhitu maintains that "the consumption of Pākehā masculinity by *tāne* [men] served to assimilate them into the violent, physical, stoical, rugged, and sports-oriented mainstream

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[137] For more on sport and class in New Zealand, particularly relating to rugby, see: Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 44, 70, 102, 117, 154.

[138] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 7.

[139] On a similar level, Palenski perpetuates the inclusivity of rugby on a gendered level: "It was a man's world into which women were not just admitted, but welcomed. Mothers, sisters, wives, girlfriends, all were part of the club as a father, a son, a brother and his mates" (p. 329). This is a highly condensed and simplified representation of the role women played in rugby environments. According to Maclean, rugby facilitated "a shared identity in which white males were privileged participants, as both player-heroes and spectators". For more, read: Malcolm MacLean, "From Old Soldiers to Old Youth: Political Leadership and New Zealand's 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour", *Football Studies* 1.1 (1998), pp. 22-36. Charlotte Hughes, "Moira's Lament? Feminist Advocacy and the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand" in Greg Ryan (ed.), *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society*, 1854 – 2004 (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005).

[140] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 4.

[141] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport", *The Contemporary Pacific* 16.2 (2004), p. 270.

[142] John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2002), p. 42. See also: Greg Ryan, *The Making of New Zealand Cricket, 1832 – 1914* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).

[143] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Producing Elite Indigenous Masculinities", *Settler Colonial Studies* 2.2 (2013), p. 38. For more, read: Toon van Meijl, "The Māori as Warrior: Ideological Implications of a Historical Image" in T. van Meijl, P. van der Grijp (eds.), *European Imagery and Colonial History in the Pacific* (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, Nijmegen Studies in Development and Cultural Change, 1994), pp. 49-63.

masculine world that has pervaded New Zealand society for most of its colonial history".[144] The continued stereotype of Māori as 'natural athletes' (in contrast to Pākehā athletes whose achievements are attributed to human endeavour) represents a form of racism obscured behind the veil of egalitarianism perpetuated by Palenski, Macdonald, and Mulholland.[145]

Palenski's ideology is conservative. He addresses the tour under the chapter heading "Conflict and Money" in which he discusses the acrimony arising from rugby ties with South Africa, but also the professionalisation of the game from the late-1980s. Primarily, his ideology manifests itself through his representation – or rather lack thereof – of New Zealand society. For Palenski, the tour affected New Zealand, but did not have an effect. There are no critiques of New Zealand society in his narrative. Domestic issues of race, governance, gender politics, and the place of rugby raised by protestors do not feature in this representation of the tour. In fact, he actively negates these features by noting that there "were *suggestions* that some of the protesters were motivated for *other* reasons" [emphasis added].[146] The crafting of this sentence is clearly dismissive, particularly by wording it as a 'suggestion' of 'other' motives. In so doing, Palenski diminishes the complexity of the tour, omitting anything which may cloud his argument that the matter at hand was about apartheid and opposition to racism. Arguably, the focus of his representation casts New Zealand society as harmonious. If Palenski wants to see change in New Zealand, there is no indication that he favours anything beyond natural or evolutionary adjustments. Such change, White tells us, is typical of a conservative ideology. For Palenski, the conflict caused by the tour was a product of apartheid-politics which spilled over onto New Zealand's streets. In so doing, Palenski contextualises the tour, but the context is apartheid, rather than any dysfunction within New Zealand society.

While his representation of 1981 is brief, his conservative ideology is consolidated in the remainder of his chapter. It is important here to return to White's conceptualisation of ideology as "taking a position in the present world of social praxis and acting upon it (either to change the world or to maintain it in its current state)".[147] Arguably, Palenski's conservatism stems

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[144] Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity", p. 269. For more, read: Brendan Hokowhitu, "Māori Masculinity, Post-Structuralism, and the Emerging Self", *New Zealand Sociology* 18.2 (2003), pp. 179-201.

[145] *Ibid*., pp. 271-275. For more, read: Brendan Hokowhitu, "Race Tactics: The Racialized Athletic Body", *Junctures* 1.1 (2003), pp. 21-34.

[146] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 366. Notably, Palenski does not elaborate on what the *other* motives may have been, demonstrating his doubts that there is any reality behind such *suggestions*.

[147] White, *Metahistory*, p. 22.

from his disdain for the commercialised state of contemporary rugby which he believes resembles "some sort of rock concert or beer festival".[148] A strong undertone of nostalgia and disillusionment permeates his chapter in which he decries the "overturn[ing]" of the "philosophical base" of amateurism.[149] He believes that modernisation meant that "too often the real heart of rugby is forgotten", cynically concluding that "the end for [amateur] rugby was inevitable" as "change was forced upon it rather than initiated from within".[150] Conservative ideologies are typically marked by their desire for evolutionary change and continuities with the existing order.[151] This is evident when Palenski insists that "the structure that was erected in the 1870s and 1880s continues today" and that the game's "foundation remains the same as it evolved".[152] In this respect, Palenski establishes a continuum between historic and contemporary rugby. The development of rugby is situated in the evolutionary elaboration of historic structures. He emphasises this historical continuity by insisting that "today's champions might have been champions yesterday, just as yesterday's champions might have been today's".[153] Continuities prevail in Palenski's history and are symbolic of his conservative ideology.

Palenski's omission of politicised representations of the tour – other than it being an anti-apartheid venture – feeds into a general absence of critical material. This shapes how Palenski represents the tour. For instance, his representation largely omits details of the violent confrontations which occurred throughout the tour. The bloody clashes between police and protestors on Wellington's Molesworth and Rintoul streets, or the group of clowns severely injured by police outside Eden Park are not included because they raise confronting and uncomfortable questions over the tour and rugby's place in New Zealand. Similarly, the altercations which occurred outside Hamilton's Rugby Park – noted as among the most violent chapters of the tour – are absent. However, like most of the popular texts I have already analysed, Palenski includes two 'humorous' moments from the tour: a protestor dressed as a referee who stole the game ball before the Springbok-Auckland match; and referee Clive

[148] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 414.

[149] *Ibid*., pp. 7, 381.

[150] *Ibid*., pp. 384, 412.

[151] Examples of Palenski appealing to evolutionary change can be found on: pp. 3, 7, 10, 28, 33, 51, 142, 190, 387, 413, 414. Furthermore, Palenski's Ph.D. dissertation – *The Making of New Zealanders: The Evolution of National Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy: University of Otago, 2010) – further promotes the idea that he endorses historical change which occurs evolutionarily.

[152] Palenski, *Rugby*, pp. 4, 7.

[153] *Ibid*., p. 414.

Norling's comment that Gary Knight would turn into a pastry after he was struck by a flour-bomb at Eden Park. Norling's warning that against washing Knight because the water would turn him into a pastry.[154] So too, Palenski's representation of Hamilton concludes with an amusing anecdote from South African journalist, Trevor Quirk.[155]

These incidents make the tour more palatable for a popular audience.[156] While he does note that 1981 "was the worst, most widespread disorder New Zealand had seen", such catch-all statements foreclose deeper explanations and promote simplicity over complexity.[157] Accordingly, the complex questions which are raised by the violence during the tour contradict Palenski's primary trope which is virtuous rugby. In this respect, Palenski's trope is metonymical. Issues which complicate rugby's position in New Zealand – racism, Pākehā masculinity, gender politics, conservatism, violence – are ignored in favour of representing the tour as a contest over apartheid. While this may seem to integrate the tour into a larger political debate, the reality is that by representing the tour in this manner, Palenski vastly reduces its complexity. For instance, he notes that the tour "had long since ceased to be a rugby issue", but declines to elaborate on what it came to be about.[158]

Palenski's history is emploted romantically. Despite the changes and threats the game endured, and despite what Palenski sees as the loss of the game's ethos due to professionalism, rugby has remained New Zealand's preeminent sport. In this respect, Palenski's narrative develops as a series of victories for rugby over adverse circumstances which threatened its place in New Zealand. Palenski's introduction frames his narrative as the typical romantic journey that ends in a triumph: "along the way the game has faced many threats…through it all, rugby has had, and continues to have, a pervasive influence in New Zealand".[159] The 1981 tour is represented

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[154] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 368.

[155] *Ibid*., 367. During the tour media frequently came under fire from rugby fans for publicising and fuelling protests. In Hamilton, according to Palenski, the media were pelted with beer cans after the match was called off. After catching a can of beer aimed at him, Quirk shouted to the thrower: "'Hey, I'm South African!' Back came the rejoinder: 'Enjoy the beer then'" (p. 367). This information is of no importance to Palenski's representation, but it does make for easier reading, which conforms to the purpose of popular history.

[156] This is arguably a hallmark of the popular genre. Falcous and Masucci argue that because it targets mass-markets, popular literature typically "favour[s] content that has wide appeal and is easily digestible and 'comfortable', that is, it avoids contingency and complexity". See: Mark Falcous & Matthew Masucci, "Myth and the Narrativisation of Cycling in Popular Literature", *Sport in Society* (2019), p. 13.

[157] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 366; Falcous & Masucci, "Myth and the narrativisation of cycle racing in popular literature", pp. 2-3.

[158] *Ibid*., p. 365.

[159] *Ibid*., p. 7.

as one of those threats. "New Zealand rugby has had to deal with several status-threatening crises through its organised life", Palenski writes, "none more serious or as widely spread as the tour by the South Africans in 1981".[160] However, despite the "shock and revulsion" which followed the tour, rugby regains it status following the 1987 Rugby World Cup: "It was a success…for rugby because it helped restore the game's standing in the eyes of the public after the odorous years".[161] In this respect, Palenski concludes the 1981 chapter by shining the light of ultimate victory.

Finally, Palenski's narrative draws predominantly on context to explain the tour. Citing Trevor Richards, one of the only academics Palenski draws on, he suggests that the conflict around South Africa was as a result of a changing generational dynamic in New Zealand: "the paroxysm of protests from the 1970s to the mid-1980s stemmed in some part from the clash between the traditional values of…old New Zealand and those of the generation of the 1960s".[162] In this respect, Palenski attempts to explain why the tour occurred the way it did by situating it within a circumambient historical space where the context of shifting generational values fostered conflict.

However, Palenski predominantly draws on the interconnectedness between New Zealand rugby and apartheid South Africa to explain what gave rise to the 1981 tour. Palenski's history demonstrates that racial controversies between South Africa and New Zealand predated apartheid. However, the forces which gave rise to the disruption of the 1981 tour originated during the 1960s. During this time "the argument had moved on [from Māori exclusion] to one against playing South Africa as long as its teams were racially selected".[163] In particular, events such as the Sharpeville massacre and Soweto uprising are cited as having galvanised protest against sustained rugby relations with South Africa.[164] As such, New Zealand rugby was "kicked up into the big league by its association with South Africa" while the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa confronted apartheid by "deny[ing] Afrikaners their cherished confrontations with New Zealand rugby".[165] In this respect, Palenski contextualises 1981 by

[160] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 363.
[161] *Ibid*., pp. 344, 382.
[162] *Ibid*., p. 328.
[163] *Ibid*., p. 333.
[164] *Ibid*., p. 317.
[165] *Ibid*., pp. 345-346.

situating it within the growing anti-apartheid movement within which New Zealand gets caught up due to its rugby association with South Africa. The context of South Africa and its racial politics become inescapable for Palenski, commenting that "even in…sunlit times for [New Zealand] rugby…South Africa lurked in the dark".[166] Arguably, this representation implies that controversies were imposed on New Zealand by external factors rather than the country facilitating them as an fully-fledged partner. In effect, Palenski politicises the tour as a site where apartheid was contested, but simultaneously gives little thought to whether New Zealand's own domestic context played a role.

Conclusion

While the shift in narrative between the 1981–1986 and 1987–1994 epochs is overt, there is a more subtle shift between 1987–1994 and 1995–2019. Primarily, this centres on the role rugby is thought to have played in the tour. While the texts in Chapter Three tend to construct the tour as primarily a sporting endeavour which was subjected to political interference, in Chapter Four the texts, while still predominantly apolitical, represent the tour as a part of the struggle against apartheid with rugby helping erode racism in South Africa. While the authors in Chapter Three celebrate rugby, those in Chapter Four consider the tour morally questionable. However, this is not to suggest that celebratory representations of rugby involving apartheid South Africa disappeared after 1995. Books such as Stephen Rowe's and Brett Whincup's *The Full Eighty Minutes* (2001), Bob Howitt and Dianne Haworth's *All Black Magic* (2003), and Palenski's *All Blacks: Myths and Legends* (2008) and *Century in Black* (2003) all have virtually no critical engagement with the tour apart from acknowledging the racial realities of apartheid. These representations do nothing to challenge or problematise the game – rather they endorse its apparent virtues.[167]

Narratives around the tour have changed dramatically. In contrast to the narratives from the early 1980s which viewed rugby and New Zealand as complicit in the philosophy of apartheid

[166] Palenski, *Rugby*, p. 317.

[167] Even when the All Blacks engaged in questionable tours, they are not challenged. For instance, in *The Story of the All Blacks*, Boon writes about the 1976 tour and the Soweto uprising: "only a few days before [the All Blacks] arrived the police opened fire on a large crowd of students at Soweto, killing 176 and wounding many other". The crafting in this sentence creates a very particular meaning. It represents the All Blacks as coincidentally (and innocently) being caught up in one of the great tragedies of apartheid. Had Boon written 'the All Blacks proceeded with their tour despite police opening fire on students,' he would have changed the meaning and represented the touring players in a less favourable light.

by sustaining rugby ties with South Africa, contemporary narratives acknowledge the ills of apartheid but present rugby as having contributed to its termination. Domestic issues such as racism, gender politics, or conservatism are rarely mentioned and hardly ever considered as motives for protest. The anti-tour campaign in this respect is represented as an anti-apartheid campaign. New Zealand's rugby ties with South Africa have become reworked as a story of national values which opposed racial discrimination. New Zealanders are frequently distanced from racism. For instance, reflecting on the 'honorary white' status given to Māori on tours of South Africa between 1970-1991, Quinn writes that "it is doubtful if New Zealanders would even have wanted to be white in that South African regime, encompassing as it did the racist laws of the apartheid system".[168] So too, he believes that New Zealanders "had little comprehension of the superior attitude white South Africans had to their black, coloured and Indian compatriots".[169] The message is clear: New Zealanders are inclusive, egalitarian and intolerant of racism. The tour, and rugby ties with South Africa more broadly, have been reworked into the dominant ideological values of New Zealand as a culturally and racially inclusive society.

[168] Quinn, *Outrageous Rugby Moments*, p. 124.
[169] *Ibid*., p. 121.

CHAPTER FIVE

Politicising Rugby in Academic Representations

There is considerable disagreement amongst academics about the meaning of the 1981 tour. The deep emotions and intense mobilisation have been an enduring source of intrigue among scholars for over 30 years. A recent text that deals with the tour is Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson's *Sport and the New Zealanders* (2018). The text covers around 175 years which means that 1981 is only dealt with briefly.[1] Nevertheless, they outline some of the complexities of the tour, notably its coalescence with social tensions around race, gender, and government. In so doing, Ryan and Watson advance a political trope to represent the tour. This political trope is pervasive across academic representations of the tour and sets them apart from the largely apolitical popular histories. In this chapter, I explore how this political trope manifests itself in the most prevalent academic representations of the tour.

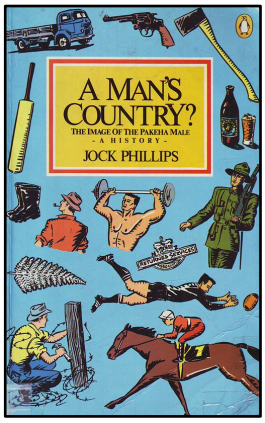
I deconstruct five authors' work: Jock Phillips, Geoff Fougere, Trevor Richards, Charlotte Hughes, and Malcolm MacLean (schematically represented in Table Six). Each author attempts to explain the tour through a distinctive framework. Three of these authors are 'insiders'; Phillips, Richards, and MacLean all directly participated in the anti-tour campaign. Yet, they employ different explanations to make sense of the events. Accordingly, I deconstruct five notably different representations of the tour. Finally, this chapter will demonstrate that these authors too use their literary imaginations to create meaning.

Table 6: Politicising Rugby in Academic Representations

Author(s)	**Ideology**	**Metaphor**	**Trope**	**Emplotment**	**Argument**
Phillips (1987)	Radical	Moral Protest	Synecdoche	Tragic	Contextualism
Fougere (1989)	Radical	'Shattered Mirror'	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Richards (1999)	Radical	Anti-Apartheid	Metonymical	Romantic	Contextualism
Hughes (2005)	Radical	Feminism; Gender Critique	Metonymy	Tragic	Mechanicism; Contextualism
MacLean (1998-2010)	Radical	Political	Metonymy	Romantic; Tragic	Contextualism

[1] While Ryan and Watson's text make a valuable contribution to the literature on New Zealand's sporting past, I have excluded it from this chapter as I felt that, for the purpose of this chapter, it did not make a particularly significant contribution and therefore did not warrant replacing one of the other texts (I have also been weary of being unnecessarily formulaic and repetitive in this thesis). The texts I have included in this chapter have an idiosyncratic approach to the tour which was is either absent or not as readily evident in *Sport and the New Zealanders*. The purpose of deconstructing the texts I have included in this chapter is, amongst other things, to emphasise the multitude of varying analyses which have be applied to the tour and to highlight the disagreement which exists between scholars on how to best understand the tour. Ryan and Watson's text did not readily fit this mould.

Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male: A History* (1987)



In his recent autobiography, *Making History* (2019), Jock Phillips represents himself as an academically trained "public historian of New Zealand, communicating to a more general non-academic audience".[2] Partially due to his accessible style, Phillips' work has reached beyond the traditionally narrow academic peer group (although, as one reviewer of his work notes, this sometimes means Phillips sacrifices precision for readability).[3] In so doing, he has contributed significantly to publicising and popularising New Zealand's past.[4] His work centres predominantly on New Zealand's ethnic and national identity and its construction. Accordingly, the place of rugby in New Zealand society is a topic Phillips frequently returns to.

In 1981, while working as a history lecturer in Wellington, Phillips experienced the tour first-hand, taking part in the city's substantial protest campaign. He reflects on this in his most well-known book, and arguably part of New Zealand's social history canon, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male* (1987).[5] Phillips explores the enduring nineteenth century Pākehā male stereotype forged on the colonial frontier, rugby fields, 'pubs', racecourses, and war.[6] The stereotype represents the Pākehā male as "a giant of the backblocks – strong, resilient and modest, a man who could hold his drink and enjoyed yarning with his mates, and who would eventually settle down as a loyal family man".[7] Phillip cautions that his text "should not be thought of as a history of male *behaviour*" but acknowledges that stereotypes "affect

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[2] Jock Phillips, *Making History: A New Zealand Story* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2019), p. 2.

[3] David Pearson, "Book Review: Jock Phillips, A Man's Country? A History", *Political Science* 40.2 (1988), p. 92.

[4] For examples, see the following reviews of Phillips' autobiography: "Book review: Making History: A New Zealand Story by Jock Phillips", *Stuff*, 07 July 2019; "Jock Phillips: History Builder", *The Spinoff*, 02 July 2019; "Historian Jock Phillips on how The Listener made his name", *New Zealand Listener*, 10 August 2019.

[5] Phillips was also involved in a survey of Wellington protestors which culminated in the publication of *Counting the Cost: The 1981 Springbok Tour in Wellington* (1982). Here Phillips contributes a statistical chapter analysing the anti-tour campaign. See: Jock Phillips and Peter King, "A Social Analysis of the Springbok Tour Protestors" in David Mackay, Malcolm McKinnon, Peter McPhee, Jock Phillips (eds.), *Counting the Cost: The 1981 Springbok Tour in Wellington* (Wellington: Victoria University History Department Occasional Paper No. 1, 1982), pp. 3-14.

[6] Phillips' discussion centres specifically on how the stereotype was presented and received by New Zealanders of European ancestry (Pākehā). While Māori participation in European wars and in rugby have helped establish the narrative of racial integration in the eyes of Pākehā, the extent to which Māori bought into the stereotype or how influential it was in Māori culture was not immediately clear to Phillips.

[7] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male: A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 268.

behaviour" [emphasis added].[8] *A Man's Country?* highlights the "determinative effect" the public image of men has had "upon the experiences of women" and how it "restricts the human growth and range of choice of men themselves".[9] The male stereotype, Phillips tells readers, "has been unusually influential upon the lives of both men and women".[10] "The subject is a huge one", he warns, and "readers should not assume that the whole story has been told".[11]

Phillips' representation of the tour is brief. A two-page personal anecdote framing his anti-tour position introduces his sixth chapter, "The Bloke Under Siege, 1950-86". Set against a background of a modernising society, this chapter explores the reassessment of the traditional mores of the New Zealand male. According to Phillips, by the 1960s, the pervasiveness of 'rugby, racing, and beer' – national cultures which encapsulated and galvanised masculinity – were under threat. In particular, war and rugby, two representations of male achievement which purported to capture the nation's virility, were challenged. In particular, rugby's involvement with South Africa most threatened its standing. The complacency with which rugby authorities were willing to accept apartheid contradicted the western post-war quest for racial equality. In the wake of the 1976 tour of South Africa – and the Soweto uprising and Montreal Olympic boycott – the All Blacks embodied shame rather than pride for a significant number of New Zealanders. For Phillips, the game had gone sour and a whole generation began to question the values it encompassed.[12]

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[8] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. viii. In her review of *A Man's Country?*, Deborah Montgomerie criticises Phillips distinction between stereotype and experience as "a serious problem". See: Deborah Montgomerie, "Jock Phillips, 'A Man's Country. The Image of the Pākehā Male. A History'", *The New Zealand Journal of History* 22.2 (1988), p. 189. David Pearson too finds this problematic, commenting that: "the male role is often reified to the point where it assumes the very life forces it is supposed only heuristically to represent". See: David Pearson, "Book Review: Jock Phillips, A Man's Country? A History", *Political Science* 40.2 (1988), pp. 92-93.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] *Ibid*., p. viii. While the scope of this research project it to concentrate on how the 1981 tour is represented, this statement by Phillips is typical of what the deconstructionist historian should look to unpack. If Phillips is acknowledging that he cannot tell the whole story – thereby explicitly acknowledging his selectivity and that his story is but one of many possible versions of the past – a deconstructionist must question why he has selected the information he presents in this book above other versions. In essence, which information is Phillips privileging and what kind of representation of the past does this create? Following White, Phillips selects this information because it resonates with his ideological position and his prefiguration of the past, a point he acknowledges in the preface: "Although the historian strives for objectivity, the interpretation, and even the facts the historian looks for, are to a considerable extent a reflection of his or her own background and prejudices. The reader should at least be aware of my particular perspective" (ix).

[12] *Ibid*., p. 272.

It is against this background that Phillips situates the 1981 tour. His introductory anecdote contrasts the fanatical support for the 1956 Springbok series in New Zealand with 1981. In 1956 New Zealand was "a nation at war" with the Springboks; in 1981 "once again the nation was at war", but this time it was "at war with itself".[13] The (supposed) national unity of 1956 was fractured by 1981, demonstrating the extent to which New Zealand was changing. Although the catalyst for 1981 was opposition to apartheid, the challenge posed to traditional male values by those who rejected the tour make it an important historical event in *A Man's Country*.[14]

Ideologically, Phillips' narrative is radical. New Zealand society in this representation is far from harmonious. To best illustrate how 1981 represents this ideology, it must be read within the scope of the chapter. Here Phillips problematises the "personal cost" of a Pākehā male image to New Zealanders.[15] As Pearson, a reviewer of *A Man's Country*, summarises: "Phillips stands, metaphorically speaking, at the door of the public bar, the shearing shed or changing rooms, and is repelled by what he sees within".[16] Accordingly, Phillips' radical ideology leads him to endorse structural transformations to prevailing male mores. White deems this a radical position; radicals identify with the need to reconstitute prevailing patterns in society. In this case, Phillips recognised a status quo entrenched with a particular set of male values and sets out to present a significantly different future.[17] The transformation process in Phillips' narrative begins with several social changes between 1950-1986 which he identifies as bringing 'the bloke under siege' – increased urbanisation, greater female participation in paid work, improved education, greater public acceptance of homosexuality, and the challenge to rugby through the anti-apartheid movement which reached its apex in 1981.

Consistent with a radical ideology, Phillips identifies each change as undermining a *structural* tenet upon which Pākehā masculinity was traditionally based. Urbanisation troubled the image of rugged males conquering the backblocks. Female employment "weaken[ed] the sense of work and earning money as an exclusive male preserve", undermined the man-as-provider

[13] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 262.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 262.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 288.

[16] Pearson, "Book Review: Jock Phillips, A Man's Country? A History", p. 93.

[17] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 24-25; Keith Jenkins, *On 'What is History?' From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 164-165.

image, and "forced some men to consider a pattern of domestic roles that in the past had been unquestioned". Improved education, particularly specialisation, was "at odds with the traditional respect for untrained practical common-sense", moved away from the "belief in the primacy of physical abilities and the all-round skills of the pioneer", and resonated more with the "book-learning of the metropolitan man". Greater acceptability of homosexuality was perceived to promote effeminate behaviour and erode the heterosexual nuclear family upon which the nation was believed to depend.[18]

In 1981 anti-tour protestors challenged rugby, a structural pylon of masculinity. While protestors expressed their disgust at hosting a regime built on racism, Phillips represents their actions as equally "a challenge to the male stereotype" promoted by rugby.[19] Men who endorsed the tour "were quite aware of the affront to male culture represented by the protests".[20] A process of "exorcising the game" and the male values it embodied was underway for Phillips.[21] In this respect, the 1981 anti-tour campaign, along with an array of other social changes, represents and, in turn is represented by Phillips as, a radical challenge to the structural foundations of the male stereotype. This challenge to rugby, along with wider social changes, "took people's experience so far from the [mythic male] image that the image itself began to evaporate".[22] For Phillips, a process of structural transformation had begun.

Ratifying Phillips' radical ideology is his desire for revolutionary change. He advocates a complete break from the chains of not only the male stereotype, but stereotypes generally. "By their very nature", Phillips concludes, "stereotypes…are shackles upon individuals".[23] Moreover, there is a sense of dismay when concluding his 1981 representation with the realisation that New Zealand's break with the stereotype was "never complete" and that "the journey from 1956 to 1981 [had not] represented quite the revolution that I had expected".[24] Nevertheless, Phillips' holds out hope for imminent change to reconstitute society free from stereotypes, but recognises that this still resides in the future:

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[18] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 268, 272-273, 274-275, 278.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 262.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 272.
[22] *Ibid*., p. 268.
[23] *Ibid*., p. 289.
[24] *Ibid*., p. 263.

> If the traditional male stereotype is now weakening in New Zealand, we must not hope that it will be replaced by a new stereotype…but that we can look forward to a society in which the only expectation is that males, no less than females, should fulfil their inner potential.[25]

More broadly, Phillips' text promotes the change he desires by attempting to educate readers about the cost of the stereotype on New Zealanders.[26] In her review of the text, Auckland University historian Deborah Montgomerie notes that Phillips "wishes to caution his reader and argue that there is a better way".[27] Phillips informs readers that the stereotype has "forced [men and women] to do things for which they were not individually suited".[28] As a result, "talents have been squandered, interests forestalled".[29] As the back cover hyperbolically states: "after reading this book no New Zealand man will ever be quite the same again". This foreshadows what Montgomerie calls Phillips' "evangelical mission".[30] While significant change may not be imminent, Phillips' remains committed to urgent change in order to overcome the adverse effects of stereotypes. Ultimately, as White's model indicates, Phillips' representation of the tour and other social changes exposes a radical ideology because he endorses structural transformations to a status quo entrenched with male values. Phillips wants to reconstitute society and precipitate a future without gender stereotypes.

Considering the kind of change Phillips advocates, it is unsurprising that he metaphorically represents the anti-tour campaign as a quintessentially moral endeavour with the purpose of bringing about constructive change in New Zealand (and South Africa). Demonstrators are represented as having challenged apartheid and New Zealand's willingness to host a regime built on racism. Simultaneously, by challenging a rugby tour, they threaten traditional male norms constructed by the culture of the game. The national unity rugby was thought to create – as Phillips captures in his representation of the (hypermasculine) 1956 series – had given way to division and conflict. Arguably, representing the tour in this manner has implications for the tropic form Phillips adopts in his narrative. By presenting the anti-tour campaign as *a part* of

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[25] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 289.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 288.
[27] Montgomerie, "Jock Phillips, 'A Man's Country. The Image of the Pākehā Male. A History'", p. 189.
[28] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 289.
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] Montgomerie, "Jock Phillips, 'A Man's Country. The Image of the Pākehā Male. A History'", p. 190.

the moral quest against apartheid and Pākehā masculinity, Phillips integrates them in a way which resonates with synecdoche.

At its most basic level, synecdoche works by characterising a phenomenon by using a part (or parts) to symbolise some quality presumed to inhere in the totality. In so doing, White argues, "it is possible to construe two parts in the manner of an *integration* within a whole that is *qualitatively* different from the sum of the parts and of which the parts are but *microcosmic* replications".[31] This is clearly discernible in Phillips' final chapter. Here he addresses a fundamentally intangible totality – challenging the male stereotype - which is created by various social changes (parts) occurring in New Zealand between 1950-1986. Collectively, these changes place the 'bloke under siege'. In so doing, the totality becomes visible through the microcosmic replications of its parts. Each part is integrated into, and collectively create, the greater challenge to the male stereotype in New Zealand.[32] While the purpose of these individual parts may not have been the explicit challenging of male values and practices, this was one of the consequences of their development. Accordingly, the whole that these individual parts comprise is qualitatively different from the parts, which is typical of synecdoche.[33]

Accordingly, Phillips' representation of the anti-tour campaign forms a part within this synecdochic trope. Importantly, Phillips' representation of 1981 does not equate it to the challenge to Pākehā male culture (in which case a reduction would be affected, and the representation would be metonymical). Rather, the anti-tour campaign is represented as an *aspect* (admittedly a pivotal one) of this challenge. It shares qualities with the totality Phillips addresses, and therefore reveals a synecdochic trope. Phillips makes readers aware that the anti-apartheid campaign was at the forefront of the anti-tour movement. However, by challenging rugby, the anti-tour campaign threatens to undermine a structurally integral (and, up to this point, sacrosanct) component of the masculine image. The tour, therefore, is imbued with a quality which Phillips believes is symbolic of the totality he addresses in his final chapter, which is what makes it an important event for his argument. Accordingly, Phillips'

[31] White, *Metahistory*, p. 35.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 36.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 35.

trope is synecdochic because the microcosm (1981) is integrated into the macrocosm (challenging the male stereotype) by virtue of their presumed similarities.

Despite the moral intentions, Phillips attributes to the anti-tour movement, his narrative is emploted in a predominantly tragic form. He represents New Zealand society as entangled with a narrow set of prescriptive male norms which restrain the growth of the country and its occupants. Accordingly, he advises readers to be aware of "the human cost such a narrow definition of male behaviour had imposed on New Zealanders".[34] By way of a conclusion, Phillips addresses 'the cost' of New Zealand being "oppressively a man's country".[35] He discusses the principal "victims" – women, Māori, homosexuals, artists, intellectuals, and, not least of all, "the innumerable men who were forced to do things for which they were not individually suited – play rugby rather than the piano, laying concrete rather than cook interesting meals, slave on an assembly line when they might have preferred looking after children".[36] Arguably, the text is framed by the infliction of a "tragic agon" upon many New Zealand men.[37]

Phillips' anecdote from 1981 confirms his tragic emplotment. He sketches the physical and emotional abuse protestors endured from "groups of leering young men" who were "quite aware of the affront to male culture". Phillips recalls the insults hurled at them by intending rugby supports who questioned "our sexuality, our legitimacy, and our patriotism". Protestors were labelled "a pack of poofters", "a pack of girls", and "not real Kiwis", demonstrating how the New Zealand male and nation were defined – a fear of homosexuality, inferiority of women, and a patriotism founded in and expressed through male traditions like rugby. When insults ran out, they were followed by glasses and jugs which rained down from the pub outside which protestors had stopped. Inevitably, "a man staggered to the footpath bleeding profusely form the head".[38] Phillips' representation of this event is tragic with the protestors being physical victims of male culture.

[34] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 278.
[35] *Ibid*., p. vii.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 289.
[37] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[38] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 262-263.

Typical of this type of plot structure, Phillips' representation contains what White calls "at least partial liberation from the conditions" engendered by the tragedy. This comes in the form of a "gain in consciousness".[39] This is most evident in Phillips' representations that link the 1981 protests to aiding the development of greater *recognition* of the cost that Pākehā male cultural values had for New Zealanders. Notwithstanding this epiphany, Phillips maintains that New Zealanders predominantly remained captives of masculine cultural mores. For instance, in 1981 the break with male tradition - even amongst those who challenged it - was never complete. Phillips recalls the military methods that permeated preparations to protest:

> We began by practicing marching in line. Subliminal feelings of unease were tapped which only became explicit when the organiser unthinkingly came out with 'Stand at ease'…We were back with platoons and barking sergeants and cadets on Friday afternoons.[40]

Similar thoughts arise for Phillips when protestors were taught to fend off police: "Once more subliminal memories came to the fore. It was scrum practice on Thursday afternoons with 'Killer Smith' standing there yelling, 'Bind. Get your heads down. Whaddaya some kind of pansy?'".[41] Despite the decline of the male stereotype from the 1960s, it is never fully overcome. Rather, its subjects learned to work within its ambit: employed women placated male fears that their prerogative as 'provider' was being infringed upon; intellectuals were still curtailed by the colonial primacy of physical abilities and "feared to be marked out as intellectual snobs"; artists allayed fears of being effeminate by dealing with manly topics (rugby, war, drinking, the backblocks) or being "boisterously drunk, swearing prodigiously, [and] a notorious [misogynist] 'root'".[42] In this respect, tragedy prevails as subjects are captured within inalterable conditions under which they must learn to labour.[43] Phillips holds out hope for reconciliation with or even victory over the stereotype, but this is projected into the future.

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[39] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[40] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 263.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*., pp. 282, 283.
[43] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.

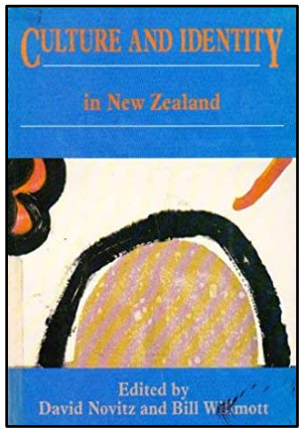
Finally, contextualisation is central to Phillips' argument. Contextualism begins by isolating a specific element of the historical field as the subject under study and linking it to different areas of context.[44] The event Phillips wishes to explain in his final chapter – the decline of the male stereotype between 1965-1986 – is linked to "a series of social changes" which made the frontier-type masculinity associated with the Pākehā male image "so mythical [that it] could not continue to carry total conviction".[45] These changes – the challenge to rugby in 1981, urbanisation, greater female employment, improved education, homosexual acceptance – are Phillips' context and the threads of his argument that link the declining male stereotype to its socio-cultural present. This is where Phillips believes the image of the Pākehā male "began to evaporate".[46] This argument is also relatively integrative, typical of contextualist histories, as the social changes he unpacks are, to draw on Jenkins' phrasing, "bathed in a common atmosphere" of disrupting the continuities in male values.[47]

Contextualisation also appears in Phillips' two explanations for why the tour occurred the way it did. Firstly, he locates the tour in the growing disillusion with the game and "a declining hold upon the attention of the nation's men".[48] For many New Zealanders, Phillips argues, the culture associated with rugby – "the violent insensitivity to pain and injury, the incredible crudeness of language, the misogynist attitudes, the drunken revelry" – fostered introspective doubts about the masculine values the game encompassed.[49] He refers to Greg McGee's widely watched play, *Foreskin's Lament* (1981), as evidence of the souring of the game among many New Zealanders in the lead up to the tour.[50] Secondly, the tour is contextualised as New Zealanders' objection to apartheid: "For myself as for thousands of others who marched in protest the primary focus was a disgust that New Zealand should host a regime built on racism".[51] So too the hostile response to the tour is contextualised within "the growing concern in the post-war world for racial equality [which] could not complacently accept apartheid".[52] Phillips' reference to the state of the 'post-war world' is typical of contextualism which

[44] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18.
[45] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 268.
[46] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18. Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 268.
[47] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 156
[48] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 270.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 271-272.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 262.
[52] *Ibid*. p. 270.

represents the past as a process of trends or periods each with their own governing features.[53] Fundamentally, the form of Phillips' history relies on contextualisation in order to sustain his argument.

Geoff Fougere, "Sport, Culture and Identity: The Case of Rugby Football" in David Novitz & Bill Willmot (eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (1989)



Sociologist Geoff Fougere was among the first academics to analyse the tour, producing two texts before the end of 1981.[54] The chapter I analyse here, published in *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (1989), elaborates on and extends the earlier pieces.[55] For Fougere, explanations of 1981 have failed to capture why people were so polarised, mobilised, and personally affected by the issue. "Few people really approved of apartheid, were against the rights of sportsmen and women, or dedicated to lawlessness and anarchy", he observes.[56] Fougere believes that explaining the tour requires a deeper exposition of rugby's place in New Zealand society and, in particular, how it shaped a sense of individual and national identity. The cultural freight embodied by the game helps Fougere explain why 1981 drew on such deep emotions: the protests challenged a way of life and a pattern of individual and collective identities established through rugby. Moreover, Fougere represents the protests as having irretrievably shattered the view that rugby mirrored New Zealand society.

Ideologically, Fougere's narrative is radical. Typically, radicals advocate change in the interest of reconstituting a new society.[57] In the chapter, reconstitution is Fougere's central argument: following 1981, rugby and the values it encompassed, were no longer regarded as suitable bearers of identity in New Zealand society. Moreover, radicals tend to see change in structural terms. Fougere frames his argument by sketching the historic structural importance of rugby

[53] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 156

[54] Geoff Fougere, "Barbed Wire and Riot Squads – What is being defended?", *New Zealand Journal of Cultural Studies Working Group Journal* 2 (1981); "Shattered Mirror", *Comment*, November 1981, pp. 12-14.

[55] Geoff Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity: The Case of Rugby Football" in David Novitz and Bill Willmott (eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (Wellington: GP Books, 1989), p. 120.

[56] *Ibid*., p. 112.

[57] White, *Metahistory,* p. 24.

"as a central institution of New Zealand life".[58] Drawing on Janet Lever's analysis of sport as "both a structural and a cultural source of social integration", Fougere argues that for much of its existence rugby served as a mirror to New Zealand society.[59] The game generated a pattern of social relationships, a sense of national unity, and individual and collective (but gendered) identity which constructed 'New Zealand-ness' as both distinctive and admirable. The 1981 tour vividly exposes the significance of rugby to New Zealanders: "something important was at stake. Something so important that its unprecedented defence by barbed wire and batons could be justified in the minds of many New Zealanders".[60] However, as historian Malcolm MacLean points out, Fougere emphasises how social changes meant that rugby was no longer seen as a valid basis for constructing national identity in New Zealand.[61] In this respect, Fougere's representation of 1981 is notably radical: he positions the tour as both a product of and contributing to a structural transformation which reconstituted the place of rugby in New Zealand society.

A strong theme in Fougere's narrative is historical discontinuity and social rupture. This resonates with the revolutionary changes sought by radicals who want to bring about a significantly different future.[62] While those who endorsed the tour clung "tightly to the values of comradeship symbolised by rugby" and sought "the defence of a pattern of individual and collective identity, a symbolisation of a way of life", Fougere wrote, others regarded the anti-tour campaign as "a progressive force in *restructuring* New Zealand values" [emphasis added].[63] In contrast to the unifying and reconciliatory function of rugby in popular representations of the 1981 tour, Fougere argues that it had fractured national consciousness and "signalled the *disintegration* of the link" between the synonymous ideals of rugby and the nation [emphasis added].[64] The social rupture and discontinuity favoured by Fougere is evident in his conclusion: "In a more sophisticated, more diverse society, [rugby] no longer serves as a mirror, reflecting its particular image of New Zealand society. That mirror, and the pattern

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[58] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 114.

[59] Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 22. Cited in: Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 116.

[60] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 112.

[61] Malcolm MacLean, "'Almost the same, but not quite…Almost the same, but not white': Māori and Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1981 Springbok Tour", *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 23.1 (2001), p. 79.

[62] White, *Metahistory*, p. 25; Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 165.

[63] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", pp. 117, 118, 119.

[64] *Ibid*., p. 111.

of relations it encoded and refracted, has been shattered irretrievably".[65] For many, the game had become dislocated from New Zealand-ness. By centring his narrative on this aspect of the 1981 tour, Fougere reveals his radical ideology.

Radicals are also identifiable by their critical representations of the status quo and desire to transform the social order.[66] This is where Fougere represents the tour as a fundamental contest between those who sought to maintain the status quo, and those for whom rugby (and the identity it promoted) was out of touch with the reality of life in New Zealand. Typical of a radical ideology, Fougere privileges a version of the past which constructs the status quo as problematic. In his narrative the game is symbolic of an older, discordant status quo which was being dislocated and challenged not only in 1981, but by the greater process of domestic and international change. By the end of the tour, rugby and the values it embodied, had become "increasingly inappropriate".[67] For increasing numbers of New Zealanders, Fougere continues, "the values and practices embodied in rugby were felt to be at odds with patterns newly emerging in New Zealand culture".[68] In this respect, Fougere identifies and focuses on the reconstitution of identity in New Zealand and the "transition toward *new*, more diverse and complex ways of constructing individual and collective identities" [emphasis added].[69] Again, Fougere's radical ideology shines through in his argument that a form of structural reconstitution with regard to identity politics had overtaken the status quo in New Zealand.

In Fougere's narrative, rugby once occupied a metonymical role in New Zealand. The metaphorical 'mirror' he identifies in rugby is a perfect example of how this metonymy worked. Fougere considered that the game reflected traits most desired in New Zealand society: a pattern of social relationships which emphasised egalitarianism over hierarchy, a means to celebrate the physical strength of men in a frontier culture, and a national character in which rugged rurality rather than urban traits are given special weight and merit. In essence, New Zealand-ness could be reduced to, and exemplified by rugby. However, in Fougere's 'shattered mirror' metaphor, the protests of 1981 and changes in the world context into which rugby fitted (he foregrounds a decolonised world which came to oppose New Zealand's sporting contact

[65] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 120.
[66] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 164.
[67] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 119.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 120.
[69] *Ibid*., p. 111.

with South Africa), the game lost its ideological powers of persuasion. Rugby, he argues, had been dislocated from its metonymical position in New Zealand.

In concert with the metaphorical shattering of the metonymical mirror, Fougere shifts his trope to synecdoche. This form of metaphor works by "designating a totality which possesses some quality that suffuses and constitutes the essential nature of all the parts that make it up".[70] Following rugby's dislocation from society in the wake of 1981, the game no longer metonymically 'stands-in' for, or reflects, New Zealand society, but represents a part with characteristics which symbolise some quality presumed to inhere in the totality.[71] In this respect, Fougere's conclusion is synecdochic: "the place of rugby in New Zealand has changed. Increasingly, it is just another sport, important but no longer central…it no longer serves as a mirror reflecting its particular image of New Zealand society".[72] In essence, rugby could no longer be characterised as a metonym for New Zealand identity but is a symbolic part designating a characteristic or quality of society.[73]

The argument that the 1981 tour dislocated rugby from its status as a central marker of individual and collective identity is a synecdochic observation. In a society transitioning towards "new, more diverse and complex ways of constructing individual and collective identities", rugby is conceived as only one of a number of ways of constructing identity.[74] 'New Zealand-ness' could no longer be reduced to rugby; instead the game is integrated into the larger make-up of the country's identity. The game, Fougere suggests, has transitioned to resembling *an* essence rather than *the* essence of identity in New Zealand. While the game is not totally stripped of its ability to create identity – Fougere cites examples of men for whom the feelings of comradeship and community engendered by rugby remain – it no longer does so on a metonymical level.[75]

In accordance with Fougere's radical ideology, a broadly romantic emplotment can be discerned. His narrative posits the desire to reconstitute New Zealand society. He identifies the

[70] White, *Metahistory*, p. 36.
[71] *Ibid*., p. 34.
[72] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 120.
[73] White, *Metahistory*, p. 36.
[74] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 111.
[75] *Ibid*., pp. 116-117.

need to implement a new status quo in which rugby and its outdated values – Fougere highlights strong taboos against homosexuality, rugged male frontier culture, stereotypical gender roles, and insistence on playing South Africa (seen as the defence of institutionalised racism) – did not hold pride of place as a marker of national identity. In this respect, the metaphorical shattering of rugby as a mirror of society in the wake of 1981 suggests at least a degree of success for Fougere's revolutionary desires. As he concludes, "the values and practices embodied in rugby were felt to be at odds with patterns newly emerging in New Zealand culture".[76] For instance, in the context of 1981, Fougere exemplifies this claim by highlighting the discrepancy between the "overwhelmingly male composition of rugby terraces and stands and of rugby administration" and the "relatively equal numbers of men and women in the anti-tour demonstrations".[77] For Fougere, 1981 signalled the disintegration of the link between the "synonymous ideals of rugby and nation" as New Zealand transitioned to "more diverse and complex ways of constructing individual and collective identities".[78] In this respect, his narrative concludes with victory over the traditional pattern of relationships rugby "encoded and refracted" in New Zealand society.[79]

Arguably, Fougere's narrative also suggests success for the anti-tour campaign. He broadly conceptualises the tour as a conflict between two groups: those who sought to maintain "a pattern of individual and collective identity" and "a symbolisation of a way of life" encoded by the cultural ethos of rugby; and those who saw rugby as increasingly out of touch with the reality of society and for whom pressure on the tour represented a means to restructure New Zealand's values.[80] Fougere's conclusion that rugby no longer metonymically represented New Zealand society arguably suggests that he recognises that it is the latter group which prevailed. Within the greater ambit of a romantic emplotment, there is also arguably a degree of success for rugby. This comes in the form of Fougere's representation that the game is able to at least partially reconcile itself with New Zealand society, particularly in the wake of the All Blacks' success in 1987 which gave rugby "new strength".[81] Nonetheless, he emphasises that the place

[76] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 120.
[77] Ibid., p. 119.
[78] *Ibid*., p. 111.
[79] *Ibid*., p. 120.
[80] *Ibid*., pp. 115, 117.
[81] *Ibid*., p. 120.

of rugby in New Zealand has changed, and that although it is still important it is no longer central.

Lastly, Fougere contextualises the protests against the tour in the relationship between rugby and national identity in New Zealand:

> The cultural freight carried by rugby – its powerful embodiment of particular relationships between men, the forms of identity they carried, and the national ethos they suggested – helps explain why the challenge to rugby generated by the Springbok tour drew on such deep emotions.[82]

In this extract, Fougere explains why the tour occurred the way it did by linking it to the functional interrelationships which existed between rugby and many New Zealanders at a specific place and time, which is typical of a contextualist argument.[83]

Fougere poses the rhetorical question why rugby in 1981, and subsequently, was so widely challenged. Any answer, he insists, "requires examining changes in the pattern of New Zealand society and in the world context into which it fits".[84] Here he highlights the changes in the relationships between men, an increasingly diverse New Zealand society, and the growing disjunction between the world of work and the world of rugby "which has made some men cling more tightly to the values of comradeship symbolised by rugby, while making them irrelevant to others".[85] Similarly, rugby had become out of touch with the reality of new patterns of gender relations following the greater economic emancipation of women, while the emergence of new Māori social and political movements rendered the Māori-Pākehā relationship symbolised by rugby as inappropriate.[86]

Finally, the international context is also important to Fougere to understand the responses to the tour.[87] A central context here is "a decolonised world, no longer ruled by European powers,

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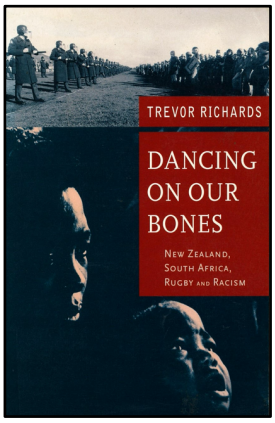
[82] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 117.
[83] White, *Metahistory*, p. 18.
[84] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 118.
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] *Ibid*., pp. 118-119.
[87] *Ibid*., p. 119.

[which] oppose[d] New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa".[88] So too, he argues that New Zealand's economic restructuring, particularly its ties with Britain, had forced the country to become "more outward-looking…[and] much more dependent on external interests and opinions".[89] In other words, the tour exposed New Zealand to different forms of diplomatic pressure and sanctions. He presents responses to the tour as displaying what White calls "physiognomies" (physical features indicative of characteristics) of a changing New Zealand and world context with which rugby was out of touch.[90] The vulnerability of the game exposed in 1981, Fougere concludes, "stemmed from the changes in social context".[91]

Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism* (1999)



For much of New Zealand's anti-apartheid campaign, political scientist Trevor Richards appeared as its public face. He was one of the founders of Halt All Racist Tours (HART) and served as chair between 1969 – 1980 and international secretary between 1980 – 1985. During the 1981 tour, Richards' involvement varied from addressing newspapers and appearing on television programs to rousing demonstrators with a loud hailer and leading marches. Amongst supporters of the tour, Richards was "unpatriotic" and a "traitor".[92] "To suggest that a rugby tour [particularly one involving South Africa] should be cancelled or even disrupted was sacrilege and defilement rolled into one…[and] was to many a denial of a fundamental cornerstone of New Zealand life", Richards recalls.[93]

Dancing on Our Bones is Richards' extensive personal history of the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand. Richards makes no claim to present a disinterested history; indeed, he concedes that he does "not have the objectivity necessary for such a study".[94] Accordingly,

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[88] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 119.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] White, *Metahistory*, p. 19.
[91] Fougere, "Sport, Culture, and Identity", p. 120.
[92] Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1999), pp. 1, 236.
[93] *Ibid*., pp. 237-238.
[94] *Ibid*., p. 4.

Richards frequently draws on his own literary imagination to malign those whose supported the tour. A common tactic is to link tour supporters with violence: "the violence meted out by tour supporters to some of those who had stopped the game [in Hamilton] was gratuitous and savage"; Red Squad members were "thugs" who acted as the "coercive buffer between the Springboks and the demonstrators"; and Muldoon ensured the tour continued "even if people got killed".[95] Demonstrators are never linked to violence and HART's non-violence policy is frequently reiterated.[96] Furthermore, Richards aligns support for the tour with endorsement of apartheid. As an example, he cites an instance in Eltham where demonstrators were accosted by a man shouting: "We want rugby. We support apartheid. We support racist teams. Give us rugby".[97] Similarly, those who challenged HART were "hostil[e] to the anti-apartheid cause".[98] In response to the Returned Services Association (RSA) which called on the government to declare HART an illegal organisation, Richards responds: "With such views, I wondered, given a choice, which side they would have fought on in the Second World War".[99]

Richards' narrative is clearly radical. He advocates immediate structural transformation of apartheid and the status quo in New Zealand which gave rise to the tour. His ideology is most evident in his representations of apartheid. Richards labels demonstrators 'anti-apartheid' rather than anti-tour. Reflecting on the Auckland protests, he notes that police "confronted 7,000 anti-apartheid supporters".[100] In so doing, he points to the essence of the campaign: the removal of apartheid. Accordingly, Richards presents the 1981 tour as an important marker in the struggle against apartheid. Stopping the tour, he believed, "would make a difference to South Africa's apartheid policies" and therefore represented "a crucial stage in the war against apartheid".[101] Revolutionary change is the only option for Richards until the "ANC flag fluttered proudly, high above the Union Building in Pretoria".[102]

Richards was initially optimistic about the imminence of radical and rapid transformation. He recalls a statement to Wellington activists: "we stand on the edge of a new era – an era free

[95] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, pp. 222, 223.
[96] *Ibid*., p. 221.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 213.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] *Ibid*., p. 224.
[101] *Ibid*., pp. 214, 217.
[102] *Ibid*., p. 211.

from New Zealand involvement in apartheid sport. At the present time we are only inches away from permanent, long-term success".[103] While conceding that "change was not initially rapid", when it did occur the "speed…had taken most people by surprise".[104] Richards is cautious not to overstate HART's role in the demise of apartheid, but nonetheless promotes "the critical role which the New Zealand anti-apartheid movement…played in bringing about change in…South Africa".[105] Ultimately, Richards' ideology finds its clearest expression in his unequivocal rejection of apartheid and the endorsement of revolutionary change.

His representations of New Zealand society are also radical. The country's conservative status quo motivated the anti-apartheid movement: "the rapidly growing and strident protest was being fuelled by more than anti-apartheid sentiments. The country's past was set on a collision course with its future".[106] His language included terms and phrases such as "old New Zealand", "stultifying respectability", "a political system…unresponsive to change", "the maintenance of…old certainties", and "indifferen[ce] to a rapidly changing world".[107] By contrast, he represents the anti-apartheid movement as the future: it was "internationalist in ethos", its "values belonged to a post-colonial world", and sought "rapid and dislocating change" from the old order.[108] The movement, Richards continues, was "writing a new history" which "taught scepticism", "interrogated…certainties", and "shifted New Zealand into a different national and international consciousness".[109] Accordingly, in Richards' history, boycotting rugby tours is encoded with significance beyond the anti-apartheid movement's primary objective. "Attacks on sporting contacts became more than merely attack on the tours", Richards argues, "they were perceived as an attack on a whole value system".[110] In so doing, Richards' radical ideology finds clear expression through his highly critical representations of the status quo in New Zealand. He represents the 1981 tour as a "watershed" moment which distinguished and dislocated the values of anti-apartheid movement from those of 'old New Zealand'.[111]

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[103] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 212.

[104] *Ibid*., pp. 229, 231.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 252.

[106] *Ibid*., p. 212.

[107] *Ibid*., pp. 242, 244.

[108] *Ibid*., pp. 187-188, 244.

[109] *Ibid*., p. 242.

[110] *Ibid*., p. 243. The value system of 'old New Zealand' is represented as socially incongruent, particularly for Māori and women. Richards observes that issues around *te reo*, land, sovereignty and the Treaty of Waitangi "sat comfortably alongside…opposition to apartheid", while many women demonstrated against "the way in which rugby defined women". This too resonates with a radical ideology.

[111] *Ibid*., p. 229.

Richards recognised that the tour exposed discord in New Zealand. Nonetheless, his primary concern remained the removal of apartheid. In so doing, he tropes his narrative metonymically. His principal desire is for apartheid (whole) to be overthrown; the Springboks tour in 1981 (part) metonymically stands in for apartheid. Richards' metonymy is immediately apparent in his observation that "apartheid" arrived in New Zealand in 1981, "the country was being invaded, and New Zealanders responded".[112] The substitution of apartheid for Springboks underlines Richards' metonymy: the Springboks are a symbolic manifestation of apartheid, while apartheid manifested itself within the Springboks, and therefore the two terms can signify each other. This metonymical statement accordingly signifies on both the figurative and literal level. Figuratively, the Springboks can stand in for apartheid because of their symbolic value to the white regime. Apartheid itself was not in New Zealand, but a significant, identifiable, and symbolically important part of it was and therefore is able to signify apartheid. However, the statement is also literal, as the Springboks, the national team of white South Africa, had historically practiced apartheid through the selection of only white players. Although the 1981 Springbok team included one player of colour, this was plausibly a token gesture. Thus, Richards advocates the anti-tour campaign until "the government and rugby football union come to realise that New Zealanders reject apartheid".[113]

According to Richards, protesters "wanted to stop the tour because of our opposition to apartheid".[114] In this respect, his narrative demonstrates an understanding of the tour as bearing a part-whole relationship with apartheid, and therefore encapsulates his metonymical trope.[115] Thus Richards metonymically challenges apartheid in his calls for the tour to be called off. Apartheid and the struggle against it become reduced to the anti-tour campaign. While these two phenomena—apartheid and the anti-tour campaign—are distinguishable from one another, it is possible to affect a reduction of the whole (apartheid) to the status of a part or manifestation of itself (the anti-tour campaign). This is the essence of metonymy. Richards believes that attacking a part will undermine the whole.

Richards presents his narrative as a romance. The 1981 tour is a key moment in the anti-apartheid struggle which culminates in the triumphant collapse of apartheid. Typically, in

[112] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 220.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 202.
[114] *Ibid*., p. 212.
[115] Metonymic representations of New Zealand's domestic problems can also be detected. See: pp. 241-245.

romantic emplotments history unfolds "as a journey, a struggle, with eventual victory over adversity for the hero or protagonist".[116] Throughout his narrative, Richards details the struggles the anti-apartheid movement overcame in order to achieve its goal. These challenges range from radical ideological differences within HART to the intransigence of the National government which attempted to shelter rugby from the anti-apartheid campaign.[117] In these details Richards consistently renders the anti-apartheid movement superior to its environment, a hallmark of a romantic emplotment.[118]

It is the 1981 tour, however, which Richards represents as "the greatest challenge the movement had ever faced".[119] This too is overcome, and a "substantial" "battle" was "won".[120] For Richards, the triumph over apartheid begins with the 1981 tour. The anti-tour campaign "stopped all future tours" and with that "a New Zealand journey begun in 1902 was all but over".[121] He foregrounds this victory in his introduction, stating that "eight decades of rugby played according to South Africa's political and social dictates had ended not with a bang but with a whimper".[122] It is, however, the "onset of genuine political change in South Africa", the "defeat" of South Africa's National Party and "the end of apartheid" which represent for him the ultimate triumph.[123] "The world of 1981 and the Springbok tour", he concludes, "had been turned upside down", signalling the triumphant and radical change Richards sought.[124]

Finally, Richards displays an archetypal contextualist argument by stressing the relationship between the material context of the time and the events that occurred. Following Jenkins, explanations which take into account "periods, trends, eras, movements and so on" are common markers of a contextualist argument.[125] This is discernible in Richards' narrative as he proceeds to unpack the 1981 tour with frequent reference to the "political climate", the "background" against which it occurred, the "era [of] New Zealand involvement in apartheid sport", the "world that inspired HART", "the…values of the post-war world", "the world of 1981 and the

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[116] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[117] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, pp. 206, 209-210, 222, 232.
[118] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 169.
[119] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 201.
[120] *Ibid*., pp. 4, 230.
[121] *Ibid*., pp. 234, 235.
[122] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[123] *Ibid*., pp. 229, 246.
[124] *Ibid*., p. 246.
[125] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 156.

Springboks", and the "social conditions" which prompted protesters to act.[126] Richards explains why events occur by linking them to their sociocultural present.[127] He explains the tour, and the anti-apartheid movement more generally, as products of the period within which they occurred. HART, for instance, are represented as exemplifying the values of the anti-racist, post-colonial post-war era and accordingly attacked New Zealand's (sporting) acquiescence to South African racism.[128]

The events discussed in *Dancing on Our Bones* share the common context of apartheid.[129] However, domestic issues, in particular race, similarly contextualise responses to the tour. Richards argues that "twentieth century New Zealand has revealed a majority culture often unconcerned about and indifferent to the problems and aspirations of the indigenous culture. Such attitudes both set the scene and provided much of the fuel for what was to follow".[130] Similarly, Richards demonstrates contextualism by arguing that the "critical position" of rugby in New Zealand and the "often unacknowledged degree of our own racism" meant the tour was "invested…with powerful and unique New Zealand characteristics".[131] In so doing, Richards situates it as a product of its international and domestic context. As he summarises in his introduction: "1981 should…be seen as the climax to a complex and powerful set of conflicting pressures and attitudes which had been building for 60 years. What lay behind 1981 did not materialise, develop, explode and disappear within the scope of one or two years".[132]

Moreover, history for Richards unfolds, to draw on White's analogy, in a "wavelike motion" during which "certain phases or culminations are considered to be intrinsically more significant than others".[133] This is evident in Richards' representation of the tour. The event represents for him the pinnacle of the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand, with everything which came before it acting as the culmination for the tipping point – the metaphorical crest of the wave.

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[126] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, pp. 202, 203, 212, 236, 241, 245, 246.

[127] White, *Metahistory,* p. 18.

[128] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, pp. 187-188.

[129] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 156.

[130] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 239. More examples of how Richards contextualises the tour through domestic issues can be found on: pp. 236, 237-239, 241-245.

[131] *Ibid*., p. 237.

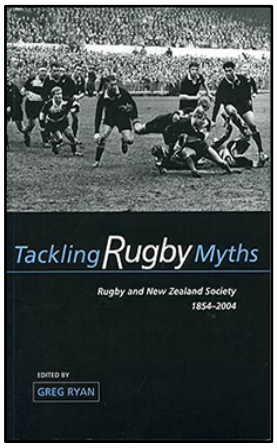
[132] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[133] White, *Metahistory*, p. 19.

As he summarises, the tour was "powerful, intense and climactic", but only "because of what had gone before [it]".[134]

Richards' claims, responses, and evidence are deliberately evocative and in this sense the text is conspicuously ideological. Aligning endorsement of the tour with support for apartheid or, in the case of the RSA, fighting on the side of Nazi Germany is a clear tactic to delegitimise those with alternate ideological positions. This simplifies a more complex reality of diverse responses to the tour. The 'bridge-building' philosophy, for instance, held credence with many New Zealanders because it endorsed rugby contact as a way to promote breaking down race barriers in South Africa.[135] Regardless of how naïve this philosophy may have been, it does trouble the notion that endorsing rugby equalled support for apartheid. While there certainly may have been a higher correlation between supporting the tour and endorsing apartheid, the two were not synonymous and Richards is guilty here of perpetuating a binary metanarrative.

Charlotte Hughes, "Moira's Lament? Feminist Advocacy and the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand" in Greg Ryan (ed.), *Tackling Rugby Myths* (2005)[136]



Representing 1981 as a challenge to gender norms in New Zealand is a common theme in tour histories. The centrality of rugby to male culture and the notably large number of women involved in the anti-tour campaign are typically cited as evidence for such claims. However, for Charlotte Hughes the idea that the anti-tour campaign dangerously shook the prevailing gender relations in New Zealand is a mythical narrative. Responsibility for this narrative, she believes, lies chiefly with feminist activist Christine Dann, sociologist Shona Thompson, and historians John Nauright and David Black. In her three-page article titled "The Game is Over", published in the feminist magazine *Broadsheet*, Dann claimed that the anti-tour campaign

[134] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 4.

[135] See, for example: Greg Ryan & Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), p. 242.

[136] Hughes' title is a reference to the fictional character, Moira, from Greg McGee's play *Foreskin's Lament* (1980). The play, which McGee insists anticipated the social disruptions of the 1981 tour, represents Moira as unimpressed and disillusioned with rugby culture and its expectation of female subordination. Hughes identifies in Moira the traits of second-wave feminism: she is a "liberated" lawyer, who identifies as a woman rather than a lady, and is contemptuous of the traditional expectations of women in patriarchal New Zealand. Arguably, Moira's 'liberation' embodies the characteristics Hughes juxtaposes with 'rugby wives' who act as a metaphor for overall female subordination in New Zealand.

unleashed a torrent of hostility towards the sexist game of rugby.[137] While Dann presented little evidence in support of the claim, her idea that a feminist uprising in 1981 undermined patriarchal power proved attractive. Thompson took up Dann's mantle and further perpetuated the idea that women protested because they were hostile towards the gender relations rugby imbued in New Zealand.[138] So too, Nauright and Black contended that "the tour opposition had its most unambiguous and challenging effects…in the sphere of gender relations".[139] They substantiate this claim by drawing on Dann and Thompson, thereby compounding what Hughes believed to be the original lack of evidence.

Academic and popular texts further perpetuate this representation. Richards, for instance, contends that "the protests against the 1981 tour provided…[many women with]…the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition both to apartheid and to the way in which rugby had defined women".[140] He draws exclusively on Dann and Thompson to substantiate his claim. As it stands, contends Charlotte Hughes, feminist advocacy is regarded as having been a significant force in the anti-tour campaign.[141] In "Moira's Lament", Hughes uses empirical evidence to present an alternate representation.[142] She investigates claims that Citizens Opposed to the Springbok Tour (COST), the Wellington based anti-tour organisation, was sexist, identifies continuities in gender relations, and outlines the subordinate and peripheral position women occupied in New Zealand society.

Hughes' representation of feminist advocacy in 1981 displays a radical ideology. This is most clearly discernible in her representations of a prevailing male-dominated gender order in New

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[137] Christine Dann, "The Game is Over", *Broadsheet* 97 (March 1982), pp. 26-28.

[138] Shona Thompson, "Challenging the Hegemony: New Zealand Women's Opposition to Rugby and the Reproduction of a Capitalist Patriarchy", *International Review of the Sociology of Sport* 23.3 (1988), pp. 205-212; "Thank the ladies for the plates": The Incorporation of Women into Sport", *Leisure Studies* 9 (1990), pp. 135-143; "Feminism and Rugby", *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand* 26.4 (1993), pp. 1-2; "Legacy of 'The Tour': A Continued Analysis of Women's Relationship to Sport" in Brad Patterson (ed.), *Sport, Society and Culture in New Zealand* (Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1999), pp. 79-91.

[139] John Nauright & David Black, "Hitting Them Where It Hurts: Springbok-All Black Rugby, Masculine National Identity and Counter-Hegemonic Struggle, 1959 – 1992" in John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler (eds.), *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), p. 220.

[140] Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 243.

[141] Charlotte Hughes, "Moira's Lament? Feminist Advocacy and the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand" in Greg Ryan (ed.), *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854 – 2004* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), p. 139.

[142] Hughes draws substantially on COST surveys distributed immediately after the tour, interviews with anti-tour campaigners, and a variety of newspapers.

Zealand before and after the tour and her call for a transformation of gendered practices.[143] Central to her representation is highlighting the continuities in the subjugation of women. She does so by interrogating accusations of sexism against COST. Although representing itself as democratic, COST, Hughes argues, actually replicated the existing gendered order. For example, "if a meeting was *nominally* democratic", she writes, then whatever took place could not be called discriminatory" [emphasis added].[144] In this fashion, the COST hierarchy obscured their discriminatory practices towards women, or so Hughes believes.

In order to represent COST as sexist, Hughes outlines its divisions in labour: "women…shouldered most of the responsibility and guilt [at not protesting] associated with caring for children" because "the hierarchy of COST did not view the division of labour as a pressing issue".[145] Similarly, she represents women as marginalised in COST's decision making: there was little willingness to pursue a feminist critique of the tour, women were side-lined at plenary meetings, and many women were "intimidated by the [predominantly male] proceedings and did not speak up".[146] The male leadership of COST rejected claims that they were "carelessly sexist" and Hughes concludes that "the parade of men was largely uninterrupted".[147] She also notes the absence of women in the COST leadership and the so-called "'pragmatic' roadblocks", such as inexperience, which were placed in the path of aspiring female leaders.[148] Ultimately, Hughes paints a picture of women being impeded from protesting by domestic responsibilities, excluded from decision making roles, and occupying a peripheral position in the protests. In this respect, Hughes' representation of women in COST reflects a radical ideology: her focus is on demonstrating a pervasive and entrenched status quo that normalised female subordination.

Rugby, Hughes continues, has been "influential in promoting and reinforcing preferred ideas about women's roles".[149] Women, she elaborates, have

[143] White, *Metahistory*, p. 24.
[144] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 143.
[145] *Ibid*., p. 145.
[146] *Ibid*., p. 143.
[147] *Ibid*.
[148] *Ibid*., pp. 143-144.
[149] *Ibid*.

> functioned as 'providers of food…of sexual favours, of motherly comfort and an audience for tales of male glory'. Women have been expected to play a supportive and hence subordinate role while their men have taken part in the 'real action'.[150]

Here Hughes constructs female subordination as sustaining "hegemonic masculinity" across the political spectrum.[151] Along with female anti-tour campaigners, rugby wives occupy a supportive and peripheral role, entrusted primarily with domestic and care responsibilities.[152] So too did wives of police officers, who "maintain[ed] their husbands' morale" and "ke[pt] the home fires burning during their husbands' absence".[153] Indeed, Hughes' description of women on the periphery of the 'real action' performed by men applied to female activists and the wives of rugby players and police. For Hughes, continuities abounded – divisions of labour, subordinate female status, and the primacy of domestic, supportive, and caring responsibilities – and these were the roadblocks to the kind of liberation sought by Moira in McGee's play.

Hughes paints a bleak picture of gender relations in New Zealand. Although she is never explicit about the desirability of change it is unrealistic to assume that, given the dimensions of the subordinate female status underlined throughout the text, she does not desire a significantly different future for New Zealand women. This is typical of a radical ideology.[154] By emphasising the prevalence – both pre- and post-tour - of patriarchal relations, Hughes effectively critiques the structure of gender relations in New Zealand and its reinforcement by the status quo as embodied by 'Moira's lament'. In this critique lies Hughes' radical ideology.

Metaphorically, Hughes presents a critique of gender, highlighting female subordination during the tour across the spectrum, from police wives to female activists. Indeed, Hughes notes that "the division of roles amongst male and female protestors…bore considerable similarity to the division of labour in All Black households".[155] Through direct comparison and a demonstration of the continuities in gender norms that existed amongst anti-tour advocates, supporters of the tour, the institution of rugby and the police force, Hughes emphasises the

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[150] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", pp. 143-144.
[151] *Ibid*., p. 146.
[152] *Ibid*.
[153] *Ibid*., p. 147.
[154] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, pp. 164-165.
[155] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 146.

pervasiveness of gendered identity.[156] In so doing, her analysis displays a metonymic trope.[157] Hughes reduces the totality of gender relations in 1981 to its parts which she highlights to support her claim: sexism in COST, continuities in gender relations, representations of feminine characteristics as weak or undesirable (she uses the example of an underperforming rugby player being threatened with banishment to the netball courts if he failed to improve), and encoding male superiority through threats of physical and sexual violence on women.[158] The foundations of Hughes' argument are the 'parts' which enable her to understand the 'whole' of gendered relations in New Zealand.

Hughes' metonymy also functions on another level where the tour itself represents a *manifestation* of the greater gendered norms in New Zealand society. While Hughes attributes a gender narrative around 1981 to Dann, she agrees with her assertions about the "sexist state of New Zealand" in which "sexist sport [is] an important prop".[159] Thus, according to Hughes, Dann paints an accurate representation of the overall state of gender relations. In this respect, the tour is reduced to signify female subordination as a *part* of the larger place women occupy in New Zealand. Throughout her narrative, Hughes frequently refers to female subordination as a whole rather than confining it to just the tour. For instance, she believes that the critiques which did follow a feminist trajectory during the tour were most likely the product of second wave feminism which sought a fundamental re-evaluation of female roles *across* society.[160] She cites one interviewee who contends that "many of the men in the [anti-tour] movement were sexist, but that only reflects society as a whole".[161] In sum, Hughes treats the tour as a way to understand the nature of gender relations in New Zealand notwithstanding the fact that she does not provide great detail about the general state of gender relations in the country.

Given the makeup of Hughes' radical ideology and metonymical trope, it is unsurprising that she emplots her narrative as a tragedy. Failure is at the core of Hughes' argument. She outlines the failure to generate a feminist critique of the tour within the protest coalitions, a general

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[156] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 148.

[157] White, *Metahistory*, p. 35.

[158] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", pp. 142-149.

[159] Dann, "The Game is Over", p. 26. Quoted in Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 138.

[160] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 150. For an overview of the practical manifestation of second-wave feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement in New Zealand during the 1970s, see: Christine Dann, *Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand, 1970 – 1985* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1985), pp. 1-27.

[161] *Ibid*., p. 142.

failure by female activists, rugby and police wives to transcend their subordination, and a failure to disrupt gendered continuities and thereby significantly impact on gender relations. Empirically, Hughes underscores Dann, Thompson, and Nauright and Black's "failure to survey a wide range of contemporary letters to the editor, newspaper articles, interviews, [and] a range of magazines". She argues that this lack of empiricism is a source of a historical myth about gender relations.[162]

Hughes' representation of the denigration, discrimination and even abuse of women in the anti-tour movement best reveals her tragic emplotment. Women in COST occupied a peripheral position and were marginalised in the protests. Allegations of sexism "rarely found enthusiastic listeners" or were treated with "denial and inaction". Rugby wives "supported the game from the sidelines", while police wives "suffered silently in the background as their husbands…encountered the strain [of the tour]". Female characteristics, she argues, were associated with "weakness" and prompted "derogatory" comments about femininity from men; physical violence was used to "control women" and "represented a tangible expression of female subordination".[163] Thus, the liberation embodied by Moira remains, for Hughes, largely unattained.

Hughes' narrative demonstrates nothing as clearly as the continued subordination of women and their relegation to a subaltern, and ultimately tragic, position in New Zealand society. Nevertheless, typical of tragic emplotments is the hope for at least a partial triumph, usually in the form of a "gain in consciousness…which the protagonist's exertions against the world have brought to pass".[164] In Hughes' narrative, the very narrative she seeks to debunk performs this function. As she concludes: "Responding to the images painted by the likes of Dann, Thompson, Nauright and Black has meant that feminist advocacy and discussions about femininities have assumed central importance".[165] In essence, this narrative directs attention to the subjugation of women in New Zealand and the way in which gendered roles are reinforced through male institutions like rugby union.

[162] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 139.
[163] *Ibid*., pp. 142-143, 146, 147, 148, 149.
[164] White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.
[165] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 150.

Hughes' argument is predominantly mechanistic. Typically, a mechanistic history seeks the laws that govern operations and convey the effects of those laws in the narrative.[166] Once these laws have been established, the historian applies them to the data "in such a way as to make their configurations understandable as functions of those laws".[167] In Hughes' narrative, she introduces the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which represents such a law because it determines how agents – both men and women - act.[168] The most overt example of this is in Hughes' representation of rugby and police wives and the subordination of women within the COST hierarchy. The 'normative' gendered roles Hughes frequently returns to is a clear case of representing hegemonic masculinity as dictating behaviour during the 1981 tour, and in New Zealand society more broadly. This is encapsulated in her argument that these women "played the supportive and subordinate role associated with hegemonic masculinity while their men took part in the 'real action'".[169] This is the essence of a mechanistic argument: these female agents behave the way they do because their actions are constrained or determined by the extra-historical law of hegemonic masculinity.

In this respect, Hughes' representation of second-wave feminism as a response to the 'laws' of hegemonic masculinity becomes in itself a law dictating how agents act. "Given that the Springbok tour occurred after a decade or so of second-wave feminism", Hughes argues, "one might expect that reference to gender relations would spring from this quarter".[170] So too, she observes that anti-tour critiques which did follow a feminist trajectory were most likely inspired by the fundamental re-evaluation of female roles the movement sought in New Zealand.[171] Again, this is exemplary of a mechanistic argument as the acts of the agents inhabiting the historical field are explained as manifestations of "extrahistorical 'agencies'" like hegemonic masculinity and second-wave feminism.[172]

Notwithstanding her predominantly mechanistic argument, Hughes' narrative also incorporates elements of contextualism. She challenges the narrative of feminist advocacy during the tour

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[166] White, *Metahistory*, p. 17.
[167] *Ibid*.
[168] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 170.
[169] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", p. 147.
[170] *Ibid*., p. 150.
[171] *Ibid*., p. 138. For an overview of the practical manifestation of second-wave feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement in New Zealand during the 1970s, see: Dann, *Up From Under*, pp. 1-27.
[172] White, *Metahistory*, p. 17.

by drawing on empirical evidence which resonates with a contextualist argument. The evidence acts as the threads which link the event under study to its sociocultural present. In so doing, Hughes draws on empiricism to argue that: radical feminism was the exception in protest coalitions, sexism was not a burning issue, nor was it a guiding light or particularly forceful in nature, continuities in 'normative' gender relations prevailed, women's roles remained domestic, supportive, and subordinate.[173] Thus, ultimately Hughes argues that in 1981 "conversations about patriarchy, femininities, the gendered culture of rugby or the relationship between men and women were at best fragmentary".[174]

Hughes' narrative also contains some surprising gaps. She barely considers ethnic dimensions of oppression and protest. She makes only a fleeting reference to Donna Awatere's "three-sided prism of patriarchy, capitalism and white supremacy" that Māori women encountered.[175] Her only reference to lesbian politics is a dubious assertion by *Broadsheet* that lesbians marched against the tour "due to their awareness of oppression" by the "patriarchal twin towers of capitalism and the nuclear family".[176] Throughout her presentation, Hughes treats women, and their subordination, as a homogenous category. While there were undoubtedly similarities in the types of subjugation experienced by women in 1981, there is also a predilection towards assumption in Hughes representation. MacLean highlights discontent among Māori and Pacific Island women over the "colour blind" assumptions of equal oppression which, along with the lesbian community, fractured the idea of a homogenous female liberation movement.[177] Hughes' representation largely glosses over these fractures. Moreover, considering the scope of the text, it is odd that Hughes does not draw on or even reference Hollins and Freeman's *Arms Linked: Women Against the Tour* (1982).

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[173] Hughes, "Moira's Lament?", pp. 141, 142, 145, 148

[174] *Ibid*., p. 139.

[175] *Ibid*., p. 140.

[176] *Ibid*., p. 141.

[177] Malcolm MacLean, "Football as Social Critique: Protest Movements, Rugby and History in Aotearoa, New Zealand", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17.2-3 (2000), p. 265. MacLean's representation of female politics should, however, be treated with caution as there is evidence to suggest that he somewhat buys into the narrative that Hughes seeks to challenge. For instance, he contends that a distinctive feature of the anti-tour campaign was that "women were actively involved in organizing and leading anti-tour action, not in the 'ladies auxiliary', while raising and gaining support for feminist concerns in a broader political movement" and that the "assertion of feminist anti-rugby politics during 1981 raised issues outside the question of apartheid" (pp. 259, 265). What is problematic here is that MacLean draws on Dann and Thompson to support his argument.

Malcolm MacLean, 1998 – 2010

Malcolm MacLean is possibly the preeminent scholar on the 1981 Springbok tour. As a historical event, the tour intersects his traditional research focus on social justice movements – particularly sport and cultural boycotts – and indigeneity in post-colonising states. As such, he has frequently returned to 1981, combining historical contextualisation with sociological concepts, as well as his own experiences as a protestor, to produce a series of densely written texts interrogating the anti-tour/anti-apartheid campaign. Throughout this research, MacLean reinforces the importance of a well-grounded historical understanding of the period in order to make sense of the event. Rather than interrogating the tour as an isolated or unique event, he contextualises it as

> the culmination of a series of post-1968 protest actions that had a significant focus on issues 'abroad', but also drew on potent 'domestic' issues including Māori land and sociocultural rights, feminist causes, and trade union campaigns.[178]

Opposition to apartheid, therefore, is only one explanation in MacLean's representation for the depth of feeling expressed in 1981. Any explanation must recognise the "array of social and political struggles over issues centred on colonisation, gender politics, economic and social policies, international relations and state power" which characterised New Zealand during the 1970s and 1980s.[179] In this respect, MacLean's work is the antithesis of the largely ahistorical, depoliticised and simplified popular historical representations of the tour (See Tables Four and Five). In his words, "there was nothing simple about this campaign".[180]

[178] Malcolm MacLean, "Springbok Tour of New Zealand (1981) (South African Rugby Tour)", in John Nauright and Charles Parish (eds.), *Sport Around the World: History, Culture and Practice* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2012), p. 455. I do not include this text in the deconstruction of MacLean's representations of 1981. This is primarily because the arguments MacLean puts forward in this encyclopaedic entry are expanded on significantly in the five texts I deconstruct in this section.

[179] MacLean, "Football as Social Critique", p. 255.

[180] Malcolm MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts and the Affective Economies of Struggle: the case of Aotearoa New Zealand", *Sport in Society* 13.1 (2010), p. 72.

In this section, I deconstruct five of MacLean's texts that interrogate the tour. Each representation deals with a different facet of the event.[181] These texts contain very similar narrative structures and I treat them as one body of work representing the tour.[182] In deconstructing MacLean's tropology, I have attempted to draw examples from each of these texts although I lean more heavily on "Football as Social Critique", arguably his fullest representation of the tour. The themes explored in this text recur throughout his other representations.

Before I deconstruct these texts, it is necessary to briefly sketch their arguments. MacLean's first article, "From Old Soldiers to Old Youth" (1998), challenges generational reductionism as an explanation for New Zealand's extensive political changes in the 1980s. He rejects the "commonsensical ideology" that 1960s youth culture was responsible for these changes. MacLean believes that there is a tendency to represent the anti-tour campaign as part of a larger generational conflict, where a 'youthful', altruistic social justice movement, stemming from the "big-change Vietnam generation", clashed with an older, intransient, and security-minded governing elite.[183] MacLean refutes the notion of 'youth' leading the anti-tour movement and rejects the category 'generation' as an analytical tool for interpreting political change in New Zealand.

In "Football as Social Critique" (2000), MacLean problematises the ahistorical, amnesic, and nostalgic popular memory which has represented the 1981 tour as unique. Rather, he presents an historically grounded interrogation which situates the event as "a focal point for a wider set

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[181] The texts I deconstruct are: Malcolm MacLean, "Making Strange the Country and Making Strange the Countryside: Spatialized Clashes in the Affective Economies of Aotearoa/New Zealand during the 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour" in John Bale and Mike Cronin (eds.), *Sport and Postcolonialism* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2003), 57-71; "From Old Soldiers to Old Youth: Political Leadership in Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour", *Football Studies* 1.1 (1998), 22-36; "Football as Social Critique: Protest Movements, Rugby and History in Aotearoa, New Zealand", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17.2-3 (2000), 255-277; "'Almost the same, but not quite…Almost the same, but not white': Māori and Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1981 Springbok Tour", *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 23.1 (2001), 69-82; "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts and the Affective Economies of Struggle: the case of Aotearoa New Zealand", *Sport in Society* 13.1 (2010), 72-91.

[182] Murray G. Phillips has demonstrated that it is possible to interrogate a body of work for its literary construction. His deconstruction of Booth and Jaggard's utilises "the entire body of their writing on surf lifesaving and beach cultures", although he only consistently draws on two articles to demonstrate their competing narrative structures. See: Murray G. Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History: Reading the Surf Lifesaving Debate", *Journal of Sport History* 29.1 (2002), pp. 25-40.

[183] MacLean critiques the use of generational reductionism in: Colin James, *The Quiet Revolution: Turbulence and Transition in Contemporary New Zealand* (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press/Allen and Unwin, 1986); Colin James, *New Territory: The Transformation of New Zealand, 1984 – 1992* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992). So too, Jock Phillips, Ron Palenski, and Finlay Macdonald link the anti-tour movement (and the anti-apartheid campaign more broadly) to generational tensions in New Zealand.

of social frustrations associated with broader social and political change".[184] Accordingly, MacLean reads responses to the 1981 tour within the context of New Zealand's colonial existence. He presents this primary argument in "Almost the Same but not Quite…Almost the Same, but not White" (2001). Here, he interrogates the relationship between Māori, rugby and dominant masculine and colonial identities. In so doing, he challenges the paternalistic and colonialist Pākehā representation of 'one people' which has been constructed by and reinforced through Māori participation in rugby. By demonstrating how naturalised discourses around the nation came under scrutiny during the anti-apartheid campaign, MacLean explores the complex and often contradictory relationship between Māori and the struggle against apartheid sport.

New Zealand's colonial legacy is similarly central to "Making Strange the Country and Making Strange the Countryside" (2003). MacLean explores spatialised responses to the tour to explain why it became "a crucial moment affecting the conditions of life and cultural security of the dominant cultural formation" in New Zealand.[185] Space, for MacLean, is imbued with "significances that shapes, and is shaped by, the practice of everyday life, its social memory and habitual/affective dispositions".[186] Accordingly, he conceptualises the different responses to the tour in rural and urban New Zealand as a "clash of co-located spatialities".[187] In provincial New Zealand, where people "affectively embody the national mythology", MacLean presents the anti-tour campaign as a profound challenge to the local way of life and a vital element of the dominant cultural identity.[188] He offers this as an explanation for the hostile responses to the anti-tour campaign in provincial areas.

Finally, MacLean's most recent text, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts and the Affective Economies of Struggle" (2010), outlines the inadequacy of those analyses which attempt to explain the coherence of the anti-apartheid movement. Traditional analyses of boycotts, sanctions, and embargoes "tend to be limited by a focus on formal state sanctions and economic consequences".[189] MacLean advocates for a recognition of the emotional components which

[184] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 255.
[185] MacLean, "Making Strange", p. 58.
[186] *Ibid*., p. 70.
[187] *Ibid*.
[188] *Ibid*.
[189] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 78.

shape mass action political protests. He believes that Herman Schmalenbach's concept of *Bünde* best explains the politically altruistic motives of anti-tour protestors.[190]

Ideologically, MacLean's representations of the tour are radical. He is critical of the status quo embodied by the intransigent Muldoon regime's refusal to stop the tour. Likewise, he is critical of the populist politics of the era for its "deep-seated endorsement of the status quo" which valorised the hard-working (rural) male and perpetuated the notion that New Zealanders were "all one people".[191] He simultaneously disregards piecemeal change, such as the symbolic sporting concessions the South African government made to appease boycotters, but which did not translate into the abandonment of apartheid.[192] Rather, his representations endorse structural transformations to reconstitute society and precipitate a significantly different future.[193] He advocates revolutionary change to South Africa in the form of its "total political, economic, social and cultural isolation" until apartheid was "overthrown".[194]

MacLean endorses discontinuity over continuity. The anti-tour campaign questioned "*naturalised* discourses of the New Zealand nation and masculinity" as well as the "[dominant] cultural formation that prioritised rugby mores" [emphasis added].[195] In this respect, the anti-tour campaign sought to rupture the pre-tour status quo. "Whatever the post-tour order would be", MacLean notes, "many hoped at the time that it would not and could not be the same as the pre-tour order".[196] MacLean believes that the protesters partially achieved this social transformation, although it is questionable whether he believes this was sustained. He draws on Tony Reid's assessment that the tour "altered psychological and tactical relationships between the state, the rugby world, the wider citizenry and the police".[197] MacLean presents

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[190] *Bünde* can be loosely defined as non-institutional, expressive and elective communities which are derived from, and produce, shared affective relations. They are emotional communities which facilitate identity, identification, belonging and solidarity that can be expressed through group character. For more, see: Herman Schmalenbach, "Communion – a Sociological Category" in Günther Lüschen & Gregory Stone (eds. & trans.), *On Society and Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 64-125.

[191] MacLean, "Making Strange", p. 65. For MacLean, the 'all one people' approach in New Zealand represents the modern form of the 'best race relations in the world' narrative.

[192] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid", pp. 76, 79; "Social Critique", p. 266; "Old Soldiers", p. 25.

[193] Jenkins, *On 'What is History?'*, p. 165.

[194] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", pp. 73, 75.

[195] MacLean, "Almost the Same", p. 76.

[196] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 82.

[197] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 258. Tony Reid, though, insists that this alteration was "permanent", which MacLean finds problematic. Nevertheless, he does not challenge that the tour did alter New Zealand. See: Tony Reid, "The Days of Rage: Ten Years After", *Listener and TV Times*, 22 July 1991, p. 29.

the anti-tour campaign as a moment where the social tensions of previous decades came to a head and large scale, even revolutionary change was at least sought, if not achieved. Protestors sought change *now*, at very least in regard to sporting contact with South Africa. In so doing, they clashed with forces defending the status quo.

In conceptualising the anti-tour campaign as the coalescence of wide ranging social and political tensions which had developed over decades, MacLean constructs an image of New Zealand society as disharmonious.[198] The tour highlighted an awkward society: "The tour had came *(sic)* to represent all that was wrong with the country: the arrogance of political leadership, the pattern and effects of colonial dispossession, the maintenance of patriarchal power [and] an elite that seemed to be endorsing apartheid as legitimate".[199] Accordingly, the anti-tour campaign could "stand in for a much wider set of social and political changes".[200]

Central to MacLean's representations is a critique of the fundamental power structures in New Zealand. This is most evident in his representations of hegemonic national identity and the way in which, largely through rugby, it projected and reinforced the nation as a colonial, masculine Pākehā entity while simultaneously appropriating 'Māori-ness' to highlight the supposed good race relations.[201] MacLean constructs the tour with as a "critique of hegemonic nationality and masculinity" which emerged "as a result of the scrutiny of rugby in 1981".[202] MacLean presents the tour as a contest over the power structures which shaped New Zealand society: "Supporters of the 1981 tour…came into conflict with competing views of nation, rugby, masculinity and the politics of apartheid sport" while the anti-apartheid movement was "striking a blow at New Zealand's hegemonic identities".[203] Accordingly, 1981 represented a time of "hegemonic dissolution" and a chance to reconstitute New Zealand society through the "(re)examination of identity" and "a reassessment of national history".[204] In essence, MacLean's radical ideology

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[198] MacLean, "Old Soldiers", p. 28. More specifically, MacLean identifies an array of issue-based protest movements which accompanied the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand, including: New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam War; environment causes and a nuclear-free New Zealand; issues of colonisation and the status of Māori; a women's movement which focused on reproductive rights and violence against women; unemployment; and increasing state power which attracted broad based public opposition. For more examples, see: MacLean, "Social Critique", pp. 266-267; "Making Strange", pp. 59-61, 67-69.

[199] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 256.

[200] *Ibid*., p. 270

[201] *Ibid*., p. 257; "Almost the Same", p. 72

[202] *Ibid*., p. 265.

[203] *Ibid*., pp. 257, 270; "Old Soldiers", p. 27.

[204] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 273; "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 83.

stems from questioning what he regards as the problematic structural components which made up the dominant version of New Zealand society.

Unsurprisingly, considering his radical ideology, MacLean represents the tour as an intrinsically "political campaign".[205] At its most basic level, the anti-tour movement represented the advocacy of a sports boycott as a political tool to secure the end of apartheid.[206] However, equally relevant are the dissident politics in New Zealand which sought fundamental social change by "challenging many of the vital elements of the dominant cultural identity".[207] For MacLean, the tour coincided with and exposed the tensions of a shift in "political focus from issues abroad to those at home" and the combination of "identity and affinity politics".[208] Accordingly, the anti-tour movement drew support from a range of political campaigns: "those focusing on international concerns, women critical of patriarchal and fratriarchal cultural mores, and Māori seeking to focus on issues of domestic racism, as well as build support for larger black struggles".[209] MacLean represents the tour as capturing large scale political discontent in a single moment and, because of rugby's high profile in the dominant national iconography, the anti-tour movement came into conflict with those who sought to isolate the game from the "profane world of politics".[210]

MacLean's political representation of the tour is fundamentally metonymical.[211] He metonymically constructs the tour as a proxy for much of the political and social tensions of the era. For instance, rugby in New Zealand and in white South Africa is a metonymical representation of the characteristics and traits of nationhood, or at least those of the dominant group.[212] In this respect, the challenge posed by the anti-tour movement to rugby, as MacLean represents it, was metonymical because it simultaneously represented a challenge to the dominant constructions of the nation. For example, the statement a "critique of hegemonic

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[205] MacLean, "Almost the Same", p. 70.

[206] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", pp. 77-78.

[207] MacLean, "Making Strange", p. 69.

[208] MacLean, "Social Critique", pp. 261, 267; "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 74.

[209] MacLean, "Almost the same", pp. 77-78. MacLean elaborates on this, noting that the anti-tour campaign was tapping into three strands of discontent in particular: growing dissatisfaction with the National Party government under the leadership of Muldoon; feminist politics campaigning around a diverse range of issues; and, perhaps most importantly for understanding the rural spatial politics of the anti-tour campaign, an emerging Māori land rights movement asserting a different history of New Zealand. See: "Making Strange", p. 59.

[210] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 269.

[211] White, *Metahistory*, p. 34.

[212] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 257; "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 88; "Almost the Same", p. 76.

nationality and masculinity…emerge[d] during and as a result of the scrutiny of rugby in 1981" is metonymical.[213] As a substitute for the social and political tensions of the era, the tour "represent[ed] all that was wrong with the country" and allowed "*that* political struggle to stand in for a much wider set of political changes" [emphasis added].[214] MacLean presents 1981 as "a period of intense social tension with the Springbok tour focusing widespread discontent on a single event" as "questions of apartheid rugby, dominant masculine and national identities and the clamour of socio-political and cultural change converged".[215] Fundamentally, the tour's ability to 'stand in' for a wider set of political struggles encapsulates MacLean's metonymy.

Typically, MacLean's texts are imbued with an argument, outlined above in my introductory synopsis, rather than an emplotment which relies on a conclusion to reveal the 'point of it all'. The plots in the texts are vague and disparate. For instance, a loosely romantic emplotment is evident in "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts and the Affective Economies of Struggle". MacLean presents the actions of the anti-apartheid movement as generally successful. While the tour proceeded, the movement was successful in advocating further boycotts and sanctions, deflecting international and domestic criticism from New Zealand, and in shocking and unsettling white South Africans who saw New Zealanders protesting *en masse* against apartheid.[216]

However, MacLean contends that "the anti-tour movement, and the wider anti-apartheid movement, appear to have had quite different meanings for Māori and Pākehā involved in the campaigns".[217] Accordingly, representing the tour through a framework which considers Māori perspectives produces a predominantly tragic emplotment. For instance, he notes Māori "frustration at a perceived failure by the anti-apartheid movement to confront issues arising from a national colonial past".[218] The anti-tour movement was fundamentally unable "to promote or provoke a political movement" which addressed domestic racism and "New Zealand's continuing history of the colonisation of Māori".[219] As such, the historical amnesia of "destructive" and "horrific" colonial practices, particularly in rural New Zealand and which

[213] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 265.
[214] *Ibid*., pp. 256, 270.
[215] *Ibid*., p. 273; "Almost the Same", p. 78.
[216] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 88.
[217] MacLean, "Making Strange", p. 59.
[218] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 273.
[219] *Ibid*.; "Anti-Apartheid Boycotts", p. 87.

have been obscured by "generalised heroic mythologies", remained largely intact.[220] Fundamentally, the multi-layered complexity of the tour and its different meanings for Māori and Pākehā resists a single emplotment.

Finally, in his explanation of the tour MacLean utilises context. As he summarises: "the campaign against the 1981 tour was not a discrete event and must be positioned within a context of growing political and cultural discontent".[221] Contextualisation appears throughout his texts, but is central in "Football as Social Critique". Here MacLean interrogates the contemporary ahistorical, nostalgic, and amnesic popular memory which has tended to construct the tour as unique and has overshadowed much of New Zealand's dissident politics since the 1950s. In the wake of the extensive changes under the fourth Labour Government, MacLean contends that "the widespread view is that these changes are caused by or result from the tour".[222] Although the anti-apartheid movement was the most intense dissident campaign, MacLean presents 1981 as the embodiment of "intense social tension…focusing widespread discontent on a single event".[223] While the rugby-apartheid nexus was at the core of the movement, the anti-tour campaign became a focal point for much of the political and social disquiet between the 1960s and early 1980s. This, coupled with the high profile and significance of rugby in New Zealand, arguably explains the longevity of the event in popular memory.

Accordingly, MacLean's contextualist argument situates the tour not only as the apex of 60 years of discontent at sporting relations with South Africa, but as a product of the coalescence of several factors:

- the metonymical and sacrosanct role of rugby in New Zealand
- an increasingly unpopular Muldoon government attempting to consolidate increased state power
- a more comprehensive assessment of Māori colonial dispossession and the emergence of new civil society politics which challenged the 'one-people' approach
- a women's movement, which by the late 1970s focused on sexuality, reproductive rights and violence against women, which meshed with the scrutiny of rugby and the patriarchal and fratriarchal hegemonic masculinity it facilitated; and

[220] MacLean, "Almost the Same", p. 72. "Making Strange", p. 66.
[221] MacLean, "Old Soldiers", p. 23.
[222] MacLean, "Social Critique", p. 258.
[223] *Ibid*., p. 273.

- ineffectual policy responses to rising unemployment, stagflation, and declining living standards.[224]

While the anti-tour campaign was the last mass movement to deal primarily with issues outside of New Zealand, MacLean contextualises it as coinciding with shifts in political focus from issues abroad to those at home, from affinity to identity politics.[225] In this respect, domestic context is paramount to explaining the tour.

Contextualisation is similarly central in "Making Strange the Country and Making Strange the Countryside" and "Māori and Aotearoa/New Zealand's 1981 Springbok tour". In his representation of the affective significance of space, MacLean insists that "the differing tour responses must be read within the context of the spatiality of dominant and dissident cultural forms".[226] In this respect, MacLean reads the vitriolic responses of rural New Zealanders to the anti-tour campaign within the context of the dominant cultural form: the coalescence of the 1981 challenge to rugby, the Māori land rights movement, the rising women's movement, and complicity with a racist regime threatened to disrupt the existing cultural matrix and fostered a context of existential uncertainties.[227] New Zealand's colonial heritage is equally crucial to MacLean's representation of the tour. He contextualises the often-contradictory responses to the tour from Māori by recognising the "social context" rugby played at the nexus of maintaining the dominant colonial, masculine, and ethnic identities of the nation.[228] Through rugby Māori men have access to the "dominant masculine formation" (in essence, transcending their colonised status) which "accounts for significant elements of their silence and ambivalence over rugby contact with South Africa".[229]

Contextualisation remains prevalent in MacLean's explanation of the tour in "Anti-Apartheid Boycott and the Affective Economies of Struggle". He maintains that the "structure and form of the protest movement" resides in the "specific circumstances of Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 1980s" which allowed protestors "to assert a sense of communion as well as solidarity not only with oppressed South Africans, but a place in a global and local anti-racist

[224] MacLean, "Social Critique", pp. 256-257, 262, 264-265, 266-267, 268, 269.
[225] *Ibid*., pp. 261, 267.
[226] MacLean, "Making Strange", p. 70.
[227] *Ibid*., p. 67.
[228] MacLean, "Almost the same", p. 74.
[229] *Ibid*., p. 79.

movement".[230] In this respect, the campaign against apartheid, and the tour in particular, were "a product of the particular cultural context in Aotearoa New Zealand".[231] Contextualising the tour, linking it to its socio-cultural presents, and a well-grounded historical understanding of the past underscore MacLean's representation of 1981.

Conclusion

MacLean concludes his article on the affective economies of struggle with a sentiment commonly found in popular texts: "[in] New Zealand terms, rugby was much more than a game".[232] Of course, in these popular texts, this notion is meant to signify all that was good about the game: rugby's supposed inherent virtue, its egalitarian nature which transcended racial, class, and economic fissures, uniting New Zealanders under the banner of collective glory.[233] In contradistinction, MacLean and the other academics I have deconstructed in this chapter, apply a radically different meaning to the cliché that rugby was 'more than just a game'. In their use, the phrase exposes a complex cultural, political and social entity. What emerges from these representations, in stark contrast to the simplistic popular histories, is that rugby was entrenched in replicating the power dynamics of the dominant group in New Zealand. Through rugby, the nation was constructed as a white masculine entity which privileged rurality whilst paradoxically promoting an egalitarian, racially inclusive and classless image of New Zealand. For the authors I analyse in this chapter, the 1981 tour is embedded in, and exposes, these complexities.

From the outset what becomes clear is that, across approximately 30 years of scholarship, there is little agreement on what 1981 was about. Each author has adopted their own framework to interrogate the tour: gender politics, post-coloniality and race, spatialised and affective economies, generational politics, economic relations, and identity politics. Moreover, there is notable disagreement on how to best explain the tour. MacLean criticises Fougere for relying

[230] MacLean, "Anti-Apartheid Boycott", p. 74. More examples on pp: 73, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87.
[231] *Ibid*., p. 78.
[232] *Ibid*., p. 89.
[233] See, for example: Finlay Macdonald & Bruce Connew, *The Game of Our Lives: the story of rugby and New Zealand and how they've shaped each other* (Auckland: Viking, 1996), pp. 75-78.

too heavily on economic, national, and gendered identities rather than colonial relations.[234] This absence of attention to colonial relations is also evident in Phillips, Hughes, and Richards.

Conversely, Fougere distinguishes his study on rugby and the tour from Phillips' (and others like Richard Thompson, Charles Crothers, Piet de Jong, Christine Dann, and Les Cleveland) by focusing on the cultural significance of the game in constructing identity. Whereas for Richards, the principal focus is on the anti-apartheid campaign. Charlotte Hughes criticises the assumptions made around the tour and gender politics evident in MacLean, Richards, and Fougere (but also in Thompson, Dann, Black and Nauright). While disagreement over the best way to explain the tour prevails, it is unanimously agreed that the event formed part of something bigger. As Ryan and Watson put it, "a focus on 1981…tends to mask the complex events and social tensions leading up to it. More than anything, 1981 was a culmination and a turning point".[235] Nowhere is this more clearly exemplified than in the consistent use of a contextualist argument. While there are differences in the context each author draws on, the event is consistently explained by the presumed connections it bore to other events occurring in its socio-cultural present. In this respect, these representations reveal a political troping of the tour.

Phillips presents the tour as part of the opposition to apartheid but also growing disillusion with male cultural mores. Fougere emphasizes the changing place of rugby in New Zealand society as a result of changing domestic and international contexts. Hughes turns to the prevalence of second wave feminism and its challenges to rugby culture to explain why the tour has erroneously been represented as shaking up traditional gender roles. Richards presents the tour primarily as the apex of a prolonged anti-apartheid movement against sport with South Africa. MacLean represents the tour as a product of a long process of growing political and cultural discontent in New Zealand which found an ontological ally in the anti-apartheid movement. Critically, these historically informed arguments by academics stand in stark contrast to the typically apolitical popular texts which tend to see the tour in isolation (see Appendix One).

[234] MacLean, "Almost the Same", p. 79.
[235] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, p. 237.

CONCLUSION

Remembering the Past in the Future

In this thesis I have engaged some of the philosophical debates concerning the relationship between narrative and history. Largely, these debates have centred on whether "genuine knowledge is possible through the process of logic and rational thought all made accessible through the neutral, passive and stable system of language that operated beyond the object of description".[1] While disciples of the 'anti-narrativist' position (such as the French *Annalistes*[2]) insist that narrative is always secondary to an interrogation of the structures that have historically governed social life, deconstructionists like White, Jenkins, Munslow, and Derrida challenge the "belief in the nature of knowing and the power of language to present the real world accurately".[3] In this research, I have adopted a pro-narrative approach and followed Alun Munslow's deconstructive consciousness and Hayden White's Model of Historical Explanation (as adapted by Keith Jenkins) to uncover the literary structures shaping representations of the 1981 Springbok tour (see Appendix One for a tabulated overview of each chapter).

My concern here has not been with establishing the factual accuracy of accounts about the tour, or with an empirical interrogation of the facts. Rather, I have focused on the past as it is *represented* in these accounts. I have demonstrated that historical narratives – both popular and academic – are shaped by the author's ideological position, a prefigurative trope, an emplotment conveying the kind of story being told, and an argument explicating the point of it all. In so doing, I have sought to make the case that historical practice entails far more than empiricism and inference, and that historical knowledge is also the product of discourse, rhetoric, and narrative. In this concluding chapter I undertake five tasks. First, I overview the research and dissect its implications. Second, I address some of the contemporary narratives which exist about the tour and which are reinforced in the New Zealand media. Third, I address the place of popular texts as history and some of the limitations of academic histories. Fourth,

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[1] Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 69.

[2] The *Annales* school of historiography developed in France in the 1920s and advocates what Munslow (1997, p. 8) calls a 'constructionist-social science-inspired' history that sought to uncover the deeper structures that governed social life. According to Phillips (2002, p. 26), the Annales school "rejected narrative history and disparaged its focus on events, intentions and individual characters". Scholars who have followed this kind of 'social theory' approach to history include Norbert Elias, Robert Darnton, Marshal Sahlins, and Anthony Giddens.

[3] Munslow, *Historical Studies*, pp. 54, 69.

I identify some of the gaps in this research – particularly with regard to the absence of visual representations of the tour – and offer some comments on the potential future directions and applications of these methods. Finally, I conclude with comments on the historiographical state of sport history.

In this thesis, I have highlighted the need for historians to think more self-consciously about themselves as authors. The historiographical turn, prompted by the linguistic and cultural turns, has transformed "the historian from a scientist who reconstructs the past into an author who represents the past".[4] For Ann Curthoys and Ann McGrath, the absence of attention to the creative, dramatic, and imaginative elements of historical writing has been the offshoot of attempting to make the discipline 'scientific' with a single, knowable, factually based account of the past.[5] Keith Jenkins likewise contends that the loss of "literary imagination" is responsible for history being "in a bad shape today".[6] "In the interests of *appearing* scientific and objective", Jenkins continues, "[history] has repressed and denied to itself its own greatest source of strength and renewal…an intimate connection with its literary basis".[7] Historians (both popular and academic) inevitably deploy their own literary imaginations when constructing historical texts. Thus, the analysis of style, genre, and narrative structure is critical to understanding the historian's choice of sources, their interpretations of these sources, and their interpretation and representation of the past. In this work, I have sought to demonstrate that it is possible to critique the narrative structures used by historians and expose the deeper interpretations we impose on the historicising process.

Additionally, I have made the case that historians are overwhelmingly ideologically rooted in the present and cannot help but project this back onto their understandings of the past. As Phillips argues, "historians cannot be erased from the histories they write".[8] Accordingly, there is an inescapably presentist ideological dimension to each historical account. What this means, though, is that as contemporary values and material conditions change, so do our interpretations

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[4] Douglas Booth & Mark Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies" in Richard Giulianotti (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 160.

[5] Ann Curthoys & Ann McGrath (eds), *Writing Histories: Imagination and Narration* (Clayton, AUS: Monash University Press, 2009), p. viii.

[6] Keith Jenkins, *On 'What is History?' From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (New York, Routledge, 1995), p. 178.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] Murray G. Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History: Reading the Surf Lifesaving Debate", *Journal of Sport History* 29.1 (2002), p. 33.

of the past. In this research I demonstrate how narratives on the 1981 tour shifted over nearly four decades. In contrast to the academic histories on the tour, which despite disagreements about method and meaning have typically employed tropes that emphasise the political significance of the tour, the interpretations from popular representations have shifted considerably. By categorising these popular histories into three periods (presented in Table Seven), each with its own governing trope, I can show how the meaning of the tour has shifted from politicising to depoliticising rugby and then to (re)emphasising the virtues of the game.

Table 7: Schematic Overview of Periodisation			
Period	1981–1986	1987–1994	1995–2019
Chapter	Activist histories	Popular rugby histories	Popular rugby histories
Trope	Political rugby	Rehabilitating & depoliticising rugby	Virtuous rugby

Moreover, proceeding from the position that knowledge is a fundamental form of power, what is presented as 'known' about the tour in these histories has more often than not served dominant New Zealand ideologies. In this respect, representations of the tour offer a unique site for understanding the specific articulations of power which shape them. While the anti-tour and academic histories can be broadly characterised as resistive narratives, in the sense that they contest many of the prevailing narratives around rugby and the nation, the popular histories represent practical manifestations of these dominant ideologies. By selectively representing the tour as an anti-racist, anti-apartheid endeavour, the latter histories serve ideological discourses which construct the nation in a very particular way. In this respect, they are shaped by what MacLean calls unreflexive colonial nationalism which has tended to construct sport, and rugby in particular, as an essential component of the dominant forms of Pākehā ethnicity and an agent of interracial integration.[9]

Critically, by adopting deconstructionist methods, I have challenged a key epistemological foundation of history and its claims to create 'knowledge' of the past. Rather than seeking to undermine the principal task of the historian to talk about past and what we think happened, I have sought to question the epistemological nature of how historical knowledge is acquired and created. Primarily, I have attempted to highlight the central importance of narrative in the historicising process. As Phillips concludes in his application of White's model:

[9] Malcolm MacLean, "New Zealand (Aotearoa)" in John Nauright & S.W. Pope (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 511, 514; Amanda Cosgrove & Toni Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves': Reading White Masculinity via Media Coverage of the Death of Sir Peter Blake", *Sociology of Sport Journal* 22.1 (2005), pp. 341-343.

> By adopting the principles of the scientific model of history with the desire to be objective, to provide verifiable knowledge, to rely on the facts, to be ideologically neutral and to be non-impositionalist, historians have denied the rhetorical enterprise in which they are inescapably engaged.[10]

Drawing on Munslow and White, I contend that historians would benefit from a better grasp of how they "metaphorically prefigure, organise, emplot and make moral judgements about the past [from the position of the present]".[11]

My work, in the words of Smith and Liberti, "troubles the notion of a single, knowable account of [the past], one in which the past is retrievable, given sufficient time and energy devoted to digging around in the archives".[12] I advocate a position that moves away from the more traditional historical focus on an "explanation and an excavation for causes" toward a culturally oriented, deconstructionist styled history that considers the acts of "interpretation and … [the] interrogation of meaning".[13] As Munslow put it, "history can no longer legitimately be viewed as simply or merely a matter of the discovery of *the* story of the past, the detection of which will tell us what it means".[14]

White insists that "precritical commitments to different modes of discourse and their constitutive tropological strategies account for the generation of the different interpretations of history".[15] Thus, according to White, the disagreements between historians and their historical accounts are fundamentally linguistic in nature. And "any theory that is framed in a given mode is foredoomed to failure in any public which is committed to a different mode of prefiguration".[16] Thus, one cannot imagine Meurant writing a Chapple-type history, or MacLean writing a Palenski-type history because their ideologies have led them to prefigure

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[10] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", p. 36.

[11] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (New York: Routledge, 1997 [revised 2006]), p. 166.

[12] Rita Liberti & Maureen M. Smith, *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2015), p. 2

[13] Jaime Schultz, "Leaning into the Turn: Towards a New Cultural Sport History," *Sporting Traditions* 27.2 (2010), p. 50.

[14] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 1.

[15] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 430.

[16] *Ibid*.

the tour in particular and conflicting ways. Meurant's conservative prefiguration of the tour has no standing in a radical ideology such as that conceived by Chapple. Similarly, while Palenski and MacLean both employ contextualist modes of explanation, the former's representation of the tour as a generational conflict cannot be reconciled with MacLean's explanation of 1981 as the culmination of social and political tensions over decades.

By interrogating these texts through White's framework, I demonstrate his central argument: there is a literary component to writing about the past and narrative is a tool that imposes meaning on the past. The disparity in literary forms across these texts reveal that the past does not conform or correspond to a pre-existing narrative structure – the historian imposes their narrative representation on the past.[17] While dealing with the same historical event, each author has interpreted and represented it in quite different ways. In essence, by employing White's model, I unearthed and critiqued the narrative structures used by these authors. This enables me to reveal the deeper interpretations historians impose on the historicising process.

Such is the power of narrative that White believes "we can dissent from the argument while assenting, in such a way as to increase our comprehension of the facts, to the story itself".[18] In this respect, White argues that professionally established historical facts cannot outweigh the explanatory power of narrative. For instance, he insists that "the best counter to a narrative that is supposed to have misused historical memory is a better narrative, by which I mean a narrative, not with *more* historical facts, but a narrative with greater artistic integrity and poetic force of meaning".[19] In other words, a narrative can resonate long after readers and audiences have abandoned the argument of a given historian who claims to have explained what happened by appealing to evidence or arguments.[20] To make his point, White cites the inability of "professionally established historical fact[s]" to scientifically assess the power of competing narratives of "victimisation" which have underscored the contending land claims between Palestinians and Israelis.[21] A more recent example of the power of narrative over fact appears in US President Donald Trump's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. Noting Trump's failure

[17] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 150; White*, Metahistory*, p. ix.

[18] Hayden White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", *Clio* 1.1 (1972), p. 7.

[19] Hayden White, "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses*", History and Theory* 44.3 (2005), p. 336.

[20] White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative", p. 16

[21] White, "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses", p. 336.

to effectively manage the pandemic, journalist Frida Ghitis writes: "Even as he continues to lie and deceive, the President has seized control of the narrative, taking possession of the national microphone to saturate the public with his self-serving version of events". Despite "all the fact-checkers, scientists, journalists, doctors, nurses, mayors, and governors…telling a different story", Trump is "crafting a narrative" for a population "desperate to feel protected in the face of a mysterious and frightening threat".[22] For at least a significant segment of the American population, Trump has controlled the narrative despite its factual inaccuracies.

Contemporary Representations of 1981

In their 2018 history of New Zealand sport, Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson argue that the New Zealand public has "moved on" from the 1981 tour.[23] They substantiate their claim by pointing to the uneventful twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries of the tour. Similarly, they draw on the unsuccessful attempt by New Zealand's Labour Party during the 2008 general election to make political capital out of National Party leader John Key's statement that he held no strong views on the tour in 1981.[24] I disagree with Ryan and Watson's assessment. The tour, and by extension, apartheid, have been incorporated into New Zealand's national story and serves contemporary cultural self-interests. An assessment of how apartheid and the tour continue to be represented by media in New Zealand supports this. Media representations prove especially useful in identifying socially dominant ideologies and offer "rich opportunities to observe the cultural construction of meaning".[25]

Two events in 2018 reveal that apartheid and the tour remain in the national imagination. In December, an apartheid-era national flag was displayed in the window of a South African produce shop in a Wellington suburb. Reporting on the incident, which had drawn the ire of residents, the New Zealand popular online news forum, *Stuff*, represented the flag as "racist" and "a symbol of white supremacy and apartheid". Moreover, the article represents this flag as

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[22] "The Political Genius of Donald Trump", *The Atlantic*, 31 March 2020. For a similar contemporary example on the power of narrative, see: "The Fight Over the 1619 Project Is Not About the Facts", *The Atlantic*, 23 December 2019.

[23] Greg Ryan & Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), p. 244.

[24] *Ibid*.; "In Search of John Key", *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 2008.

[25] Graeme Turner, "Media Texts and Messages" in Stuart Cunningham and Graeme Turner (eds.), *The Media in Australia: Industries, Texts, Audiences* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1997), p. 326.

carrying symbolic value "for many New Zealanders following the 1981 Springbok tour which is remembered for the disruption caused by anti-apartheid protestors". It is notable how this representation of the tour is abbreviated in a 'matter-of-fact' way to an anti-apartheid endeavour.[26] The article concludes by reminding readers that the same flag was "displayed on the jacket worn by American mass murderer and white supremacist Dylann Roof".[27] The message is clear: apartheid, and anything that symbolised support of it, like the 1981 tour, is unacceptable.

The representation of this event was arguably heightened by a similar instance earlier that year when the same flag made an "unwelcome" appearance at a Springbok-All Black test match in Wellington. Again, *Stuff* commented: "The flag…represents all that was abhorrent during the days of apartheid and is a symbol of white supremacy for many".[28] Perhaps most notable, though, was the strong reaction to the incident from respected New Zealand rugby commentator, Tony Johnson. On his nationally broadcast television program, *Rugby Nation*, Johnson slammed the perpetrators: "To the people who brought this flag into our stadium, either you get rid of it or you think about going and living somewhere else. If you believe in what that flag represents, I'm not sure we want you in this country. You have caused so much embarrassment to the people in South Africa, and it is a really bad thing that you have done".[29] Johnson is a figure well connected in rugby circles. As such, his reaction effectively represented 'rugby' on the event, particularly as his comments went uncontested. In this respect, his comments are significant in that they signpost just how extensively the narrative around apartheid has changed in New Zealand. Up until the early 1990s New Zealand rugby had staunchly defended playing against representatives of that very flag. It is not unreasonable to argue that in 1981, many of the Springboks *did* believe in what that flag represented and simultaneously many New Zealanders *did* want them to play rugby in their country. This is not to suggest that defending rugby ties with South Africa was tantamount to endorsing apartheid,

[26] This article is certainly not the only one to do so. For more examples, see: "'81 Springbok protests galvanises a nation divided – 150 Years of News", *Stuff*, 17 October 2015; "Coronavirus scare hits 1981 Springboks who toured New Zealand", *Stuff*, 30 March 2020; "Infamous tour remembered", *Stuff*, 27 July 2011.

[27] "Apartheid era flag on display in Tawa shop window", *Stuff*, 10 December 2018.

[28] "South African 'apartheid flag' makes 'unwelcome' appearance at Wellington test", *Stuff*, 16 September 2018. For another recent example of a highly critical response to apartheid from New Zealand news media, see: "South African expats revive 'racist' Afrikaans national day in NZ", *Stuff,* 20 December 2017.

[29] "Rugby Nation", *Sky Sport One*, 16 September 2018. Hosted by Tony Johnson.

but rather that as material conditions change, so do our interpretations of the relics of the past and what they represent(ed).

These kinds of media representations are important for two reasons. Firstly, they act as educational mediums or as an introduction to an event. For Amanda Cosgrove and Toni Bruce, "how things are represented plays a constitutive role in our understandings of them" and the "media versions of particular cultural events…may end up constituting the reality of those events for many people".[30] Secondly, and perhaps most importantly for the argument in this research, the reality that is constructed through these media representations "most often represents the ideologies of socially dominant groups…".[31] Drawing on Stuart Hall's study of racist ideologies in the western media, Cosgrove and Bruce contend that "media workers 'speak through' ideological discourses that are already active in society and provide them/us with the means of 'making sense' of social relations and our place in them".[32] This ratifies the central argument of this research: representations of the past are filtered through the dominant contemporary ideologies.

The recent obituaries of All Blacks John Graham and Colin Meads are useful for understanding how media works through these ideologies, particularly in relation to how the 1981 tour is presented today. Obituaries are important sources for constructing history. "Far from merely a passive receptacle of narratives about a life", argue Liberti and Smith, "obituaries are politicised remembrances and commemorations in which an existence is deemed worthy of note".[33] In the case of John Graham, each of his obituarists deemed it worthy to present him as an opponent of apartheid and a voice against the 1981 tour.[34] Graham was not directly involved with the anti-tour campaign, yet he is celebrated for his position.[35] These kinds of posthumous representations have as much to do with an individual's life as they do with establishing and reinforcing cultural values. As Janice Hume observes, obituaries "articulate virtues of private

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[30] Cosgrove & Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves'", p. 338.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] *Ibid*.; Stuart Hall, "The Whites of their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media" in Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class: A Text-Reader* (California: SAGE, 1995), pp. 18-22.

[33] Liberti and Smith, *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph*, p. 5.

[34] "Sir Michael Jones on the late Sir John Graham: A wonderful father figure", *New Zealand Herald*, 03 August 2017; "Sir John Graham 'one of the greats' in sport, education and life", *Stuff*, 03 August 2017; "Sir John Graham dies", *Otago Daily Times*, 03 August 2017.

[35] Liberti & Smith, *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph*, p. 5.

citizens for assimilation by a society".[36] They "reflect what society values and wants to hear about a person's history".[37] Thus, the fact that Graham opposed the tour is deemed significant because it fits, and further perpetuates, the dominant story that has come to be told not only about the tour, but about New Zealand cultural values.

This becomes even clearer when considering the absence of references to the 1981 tour in the obituaries of Colin Meads, who passed away in the same year as Graham. Meads is regarded by many as the greatest All Black and the embodiment of ideal Pākehā manhood. His obituaries celebrate his uncomplicated, loyal, and uncompromising approach to rugby and life, his "natural athleticism and rare ferocity", his "unparalleled" "devotion to rugby and New Zealand"; they present him as the "epitome [of] the nation's rugged image of itself" and the embodiment of the virtues of a bygone era.[38] 'Pinetree's' obituaries made no mention that he was vociferously pro-tour in 1981. So too his decision to coach the 1986 Cavaliers rebel tour to South Africa – when mentioned – is dismissed as well intentioned but naïve.[39] While Graham and Meads are both deemed worthy of commemoration, representations of them are filtered through the ideology of the present that dictates what is included and what is left out of retellings of the past.

Obituaries are important cultural products that help mould collective memory but can also indicate what is valued as a representation. While I have not dealt with media representations in the thesis, these instances act as salient examples of my principal argument: representations of the past are not fixed, nor will they ever be. We are constantly re-evaluating the past through the lens of the present. Media representations help expose some of the ideologies through which the past, like those in popular rugby histories, are filtered.

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[36] Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p. 16.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 12.

[38] "Sir Colin Meads obituary – the great Pinetree has fallen", *Stuff*, 20 August 2017; "Sir Colin Meads obituary: A colossus of a bygone era", *New Zealand Herald*, 20 August 2017; "Sir Colin Meads, 1936 – 2017", *New Zealand Listener*, 25 August 2017. Cosgrove and Bruce identify similar celebratory traits in the eulogies of New Zealand sailor, Peter Blake, demonstrating that there is an overarching ideology through which notable Pākehā men are remembered and which idealise this form of masculinity. See: Cosgrove & Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves'", pp. 343-348. It is notable that obituaries to Meads from outside New Zealand, and therefore not influenced by these specific ideologies, are somewhat more critical. For instance, *The New York Times'* obituary observes that Meads "came to represent a politically conservative strain [in New Zealand] when he led a team on a tour of South Africa in defiance of sanctions against its policies of apartheid". See: "Colin Meads, Revered New Zealand Rugby Star, Dies at 81", *The New York Times*, 22 August 2017.

[39] "The Rebel Rugby Tour: Boots and All", *New Zealand Herald*, 7 September 2011; "Sir Colin Meads, 1936 – 2017", *New Zealand Listener*, 25 August 2017.

These representations privilege a version of the past which serves the contemporary cultural self-interest of those doing the remembering. Herein lies the power of history and narrative. As Munslow observes: "History is at its most powerful when, in the hands of the disinterested historians, it *professes* to reveal the objective truth of the past as it actually was" [emphasis added].[40] In essence, what has been considered 'true' about the tour has shifted markedly but is also intricately interwoven with the dominant ideological structures in society. If we accept that history is filtered through the present, we can say with certainty that contemporary representations of apartheid and the 1981 tour are no more fixed than those which preceded them. As material conditions in New Zealand and globally shift, the past will be reinterpreted through a different ideological lens in a different context.

Through these histories, the tour has been retold in a manner which emphasises the anti-apartheid, anti-racist struggle of the New Zealand demonstrators. The tour has become part of the national myth (myth in this sense meaning a popular representation or a selected truth about the past) as it emphasises how, through protestors' opposition to apartheid, New Zealanders came to define themselves as an egalitarian nation that abhorred racism. As Ryan and Watson note, "New Zealand's contribution to the anti-apartheid movement has also been incorporated into a wider national story of international citizenship concerned with social justice".[41] However, equally revealing in these representations of the tour are the silent voices. For instance, it is rarely mentioned that throughout the tour stadiums were sold out; that the Springboks were inundated with letters of support from New Zealanders upon their arrival;[42] that 46% of potential viewers watched the final test match on television;[43] that playing sport against South Africa (particularly rugby) served to prop up apartheid;[44] that rural New Zealanders predominantly supported the tour; that Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, who had staunchly defended the tour, won the New Zealand general election in November 1981; that many New Zealanders, particularly (but not exclusively) from older generations, saw little

[40] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 171

[41] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, p. 244.

[42] Collection of letters sent to the Springboks by New Zealanders, 1981, Box: Suid-Afrika, Nieu-Seeland, VSA, Collection: VIII Toere (1.37 A-C), South African Rugby Board Archive, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

[43] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, p. 242.

[44] For more on the way sporting contact with South Africa bolstered apartheid read: Goolam Vahed & Ashwin Desai, "The Coming of Nelson and the Ending of Apartheid Cricket? Gatting's Rebels in South Africa, 1990", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 33.15 (2017), pp. 1786 – 1807.

problem engaging with all-white nations, and therefore saw little problem playing an all-white South African team. In this respect, silence is a choice.

Popular Texts as History

With the exception of Meurant, the representations of the tour from Chapter Two are shaped by a trope which politicises rugby. They can effectively be classified as counter or resistant narratives. Emotionally fuelled representations, such as Meurant's, do not operate under the pretext of being objective interpretations of events. Each author presents the past from a clearly discernible advocacy position and employs emotively provocative metaphors to persuade the reader of their position. Making objective assertions about the tour is not their intention. However, in so doing they clearly demonstrate White's central argument: that there is a literary dimension to writing about the past and that narrative is a tool that imposes meaning on the past. A comparison of Chapple and Meurant, for instance (see Appendix One or Table Three), perfectly illustrates White's contention that the past does not conform or correspond to a pre-existing narrative structure – this is imposed on the past by the author.[45] Moreover, these texts plainly demonstrate the importance of ideology in the construction of representations of the past. It is their clearly discernible ideological positions which lead them to represent and interpret (and participate in) the tour in the manner that they do. Ideologically, it is impossible to imagine Chapple, Newnham, or Hollins and Freeman authoring a Meurant-type history of the tour and vice-versa. This is the essence of White's argument.

The texts analysed in Chapters Three and Four similarly demonstrate the prevalence of ideology in reconstructions of the past. Much like the media representations, these histories are filtered through – and predominantly ascribe to – ideologies which have historically represented sport as egalitarian and racially tolerant and valorised rugby as a game which encompasses the values most prized by (leading interests in) the nation. Importantly, many of these texts – particularly those emerging around the mid-1990s – display a high level of anxiety about the effects of professional sport on national values.[46] Ideologies of egalitarianism struggled to maintain their hold in a climate in which self-sacrifice, patriotism, and commitment to the team were undermined by the economic motives as the gap between

[45] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 150. White, *Metahistory*, p. ix.
[46] Cosgrove & Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Like to See Themselves'", p. 343.

professional and amateur players widened. As such, many of these texts, and this is particularly notable in Palenski, reflect a sense of disillusion with the then climate and offered representations of the past steeped in wistful nostalgia. Importantly, Cosgrove and Bruce make the case that in the face of growing indigenous political power, an increasingly diverse population, and radical shifts in the social values underpinning New Zealand society, these kinds of historic representations are likely to continue. "[A]s long as the centrality of whiteness [in New Zealand] is under threat", they observe, "we are likely to see the ongoing rearticulation of nostalgic visions of nationalism".[47] These histories clearly endorse White and Munslow's contention that historical accounts are ideologically driven, usually from the present state of social praxis.

Moreover, considering that Pākehā masculinity has traditionally formed the backbone of national identity, it is unsurprising that rugby history remains overwhelmingly in the curatorship of white males. Of the fifty non-academic texts considered for analysis in this research, only Margaret Freeman and Rosemary Hollins' *Arms Linked* and Juliet Morris' *With All Our Strength* (1982) are texts solely authored by women; just two texts contained either a female co-author or contributor. Of the texts which focused solely on telling the history of rugby in New Zealand there is a complete absence of female authors while only a single text is devoted to Māori rugby history. To borrow MacLean's phrasing, "Pākehā masculinity's wagons appear secure in their own circle".[48] Historically, these kinds of texts have been greatly significant in the intermeshing of sport and national stories in New Zealand.[49]

Fundamentally, these histories trade on silences, omissions, and contested narratives perpetuated as reality. Following Barthes influential work on mythologies, these historical texts are ahistorical because they "abolish the complexity of human acts", give them "the simplicity of essences", "[do] away with all dialectics" and create "a world without contradictions because it is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful clarity".[50] Accordingly, in these representations the tour becomes detached from its wider contexts and complexities. Unpalatable questions about why a rugby tour was able to provoke

[47] Cosgrove & Bruce, "The Way New Zealanders Like to See Themselves", pp. 336, 349.

[48] Malcolm MacLean, "Football as Social Critique: Protest Movements, Rugby and History in Aotearoa, New Zealand", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17.2-3 (2000), p. 271.

[49] Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders*, pp. 202-203.

[50] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957 [revised 2012]), p. 256.

such an intense emotional outpouring are reduced to simplicity, the most common (and culturally self-serving) being that this was New Zealand's way of opposing apartheid. Importantly, Falcous and Masucci observe that challenges to mythologised institutions like rugby "can be accommodated by acknowledgement of 'a few bad apples'", like the 1981 tour, and that such acknowledgements "mitigate more far reaching criticisms" about, for example, discriminatory racial, class and gender social relations.[51] In so doing, these texts silence alternative narratives which question rugby and particularly its culture. It is unsurprising that the tropes which most clearly emerge from the texts are the attempts to depoliticise rugby in the wake of 1981 and re-instil the (older) virtues associated with the game.

In dealing with this array of texts, this research raises fundamental questions over the relationship between popular and academic histories, who qualifies as an historian, and who drives the construction of knowledge. In *The Limits of History* (2004), Constantin Fasolt conceptualises history as the practice of producing knowledge of the past by professionally trained historians.[52] Apart from its narrow epistemological representation of history, Fasolt's observation underplays the importance of 'amateur' or 'popular' historians in the process of constructing knowledge about the past. Similarly, Munslow appears to target *Deconstructing History* specifically at professionally trained historians. Typically, academically trained historians claim the high-ground in the production of knowledge about the past and have criticised popular histories for their "reliance on narrative, its intolerance of ambiguities and its tendency towards emotion, rather than reason".[53] However, popular histories dominate the public domain; non-professionally trained historians, essentially popular or amateur historians, produce large volumes of historical knowledge. In Michelle Arrow's words, "popular history is vital to understanding contemporary ideas about history, national identity and national belonging: indeed, popular histories are spaces where 'imagined communities' of nation are constituted".[54]

In New Zealand, notes MacLean, "popular writing about sport consumes public spaces and discourses while scholarly analyses concurrently produce, reproduce and critique dominant

[51] Mark Falcous & Matthew Masucci, "Myth and the Narrativization of Cycle Racing in Popular Literature", *Sport in Society* (2019), p. 2.

[52] Constantin Fasolt, *The Limits of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. xv.

[53] Michelle Arrow, "The Making History initiative and Australian Popular History", *Rethinking History*, 15.2 (2011), p. 154.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 155.

socio-cultural discourses".[55] However, rarely is the 'reach' of popular histories given much thought. Popular history, write Falcous and Masucci, "targets mass markets–favouring content that has wide appeal and is easily digestible and 'comfortable'; that is: it avoids contingency and complexity".[56] While academic historians are inclined to write for their peers, and therefore reach smaller audiences, the works of popular historians—books, magazine articles, film and television productions—reach a far greater audience due to their relative accessibility. The kinds of comfortable, celebratory histories produced by the likes of Palenski will always be more widely and easily consumed than the dense, jargon-laden histories produced by the MacLean's. For instance, Alex Veysey's *Colin Meads: All Black* (1974) is reported to have sold over 60,000 copies and Brian Turner's *Meads* (2002) sold more than 50,000 copies, while Greg McGee's *The Open Side* (2012), a biography of World Cup winning All Black captain, Richie McCaw, sold over 120,000 within months of its release.[57]

The reality is that 'serious' sport histories will never reach these kinds of sale numbers, and therefore are limited in their reach. It is doubtful whether academic historians pay much attention to these 'softer' forms of history and the role they play in constructing and reinforcing certain images of the past in the collective memory. Herein lies one value of deconstructionist methods that unearth the ideological frameworks which shape these histories and ultimately much of the 'knowledge' about the past.

Gaps in the Research and Future Directions

This research has focused exclusively on how the tour is represented in New Zealand popular and academic histories. However, as I have mentioned with respect to media representations of apartheid and the obituaries of Graham and Meads, these are not the only sites (or necessarily even the primary sites) from which constructions of knowledge about the tour have emerged. The 2016 commemorations of the tour's thirty-fifth anniversary provide a useful insight into the variety of documentary films which have represented (and thus have played a constitutive role in understanding) the tour since its conclusion. To mark the occasion, the *New Zealand Herald* produced "The 1981 Springbok Tour, 35 Years On", an article which, along with giving

[55] MacLean, "New Zealand (Aotearoa)", p. 510.
[56] Falcous & Masucci, "Myth and the Narrativization of Cycle Racing in Popular Literature", p. 13.
[57] "Sports writing", Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 4 May 2015.

readers a basic overview of the event, suggests some of the "classic film and television depictions of one of the most turbulent chapters in our history". These include the feature length documentary *Patu!* (1983), which "has a Māori perspective, but…does not override the mass mobilisation of New Zealand's white middle class"; *The Protestors* (1982), which explores issues surrounding race and land ownership in the aftermath of the tour and the occupation of Bastion Point; *Try Revolution* (2006), part of the four-part series *Revolution*, situates the tour in the social and economic changes that occurred in New Zealand in the 1980s; and *All Blacks for Africa* (1992) which followed the All Blacks on their 1992 tour of South Africa. While only four documentaries make the *New Zealand Herald's* list, there are numerous others which deal with the tour.[58]

Additionally, a number of fictionalised visual representations exist. *The Garlick Thrust* (1983) is set against the background of the tour and the "national loss of innocence".[59] Made for television movie *Rage* (2011) recreates the tour and traces the developing romance between an undercover police officer and a protestor. Greg McGee's *Skin and Bone* (2003), an updated version of his landmark play *Foreskin's Lament*, deals with the same social issues around rugby as the play but in the professional era. Similarly, Eleanor Bishop's play *Boys* (2017) continues the conversation started by *Foreskin's Lament* and, drawing on contemporary material, highlights contemporary continuities with 1980s New Zealand rugby culture.

These forms of representation are important. While popular histories already 'out-reach' academic histories, visual representations are likely to reach even further. As with any representation, fictional or not, they too are filtered through specific ideological positions. For instance, *Try Revolution* (and to a lesser extent, *All Blacks for Africa*) is set within an ideological framework which serves New Zealand's dominant cultural self-interest. Reviewing the documentary, the author believes that it shows "how events in New Zealand poured shame on the apartheid regime, and helped provoke democratic change".[60] Any retelling of the tour

[58] For more documentaries on the tour, see: *Children of Revolution* (Front of the Box Productions: 2007) Directed by Makerita Urale; 1981, The Tour: 10 Years On (Bryan Bruce Productions: 1992) Directed by Bryan Bruce; *A Decade of Rugby: The 1980s* (TVNZ Ltd: 1989) Directed by Graham Veitch and Graham Thorne; *1981: A Country at War* (Frame Up Films: 2000) Directed by Rachel Jean & Owen Hughes; *A Political Game* (TVNZ Ltd: 2004) Directed by David Crerar; *The Game of Our Lives* (George Andrews Productions: 1996) Directed by John Carlaw and Geoffrey Cawthorn. There are also a multitude of independently produced short films on streaming cites like YouTube which deal with the tour.

[59] "The Garlick Thrust (1983)", *NZ on Screen*, 16 July 2016.

[60] "The 1981 Tour – 35 Years On", *New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 2016.

assumes a specific position which leads it to privilege certain information, while silencing alternatives. Like the historical texts that I deconstructed in this research, documentaries and films are presented as narratives. They consist of artificially constructed beginnings, middles, and endings and represent the same event in different ways depending on the story they are trying to tell. This opens them up to the kind of methodological investigation I have applied here.

However, historians are inclined to treat photographic, cinematic, and video data as if they can be read in the same way as written documents. But White reminds us that the analysis of visual images requires a manner of 'reading' quite different from that developed for the study of written material:

> We are inclined to treat the imagistic evidence as if it were at best a complement of verbal evidence, rather than as a supplement, which is to say, a discourse in its own right and one capable of telling us things about its referents that are both different from what can be told in verbal discourse and also of a kind that can only be told by means of visual images.[61]

As the preeminent scholar on the relationship between history and visual representation, Robert Rosenstone argues, in an increasingly post-literate world, a world where people can read but choose not to, exploring representations of the past through film is vital. Moreover, he insists that things such as landscapes, sounds, strong emotions, certain kinds of conflict between individuals and groups, collective events and movement of crowds can be better represented on film than in verbal accounts. A case can certainly be made that verbal accounts of the protests outside Eden Park, Auckland, on 12 September 1981 fall short of the emotive photos and videos that appear in numerous documentaries and which emerged from the event. What makes Rosenstone's work important for this research is that he takes seriously the deconstructionist approach. He recognises that, as with a written historical text, film undertakes a similar process of turning the remnants of the past into a visual narrative. Accordingly, he advocates an approach to the history film which White calls 'historio*photy*', in essence the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse.[62] In

[61] Hayden White, "Historiography and Historiophoty", *American Historical Review*, 93.5 (1988), p. 1193.
[62] *Ibid*., pp. 1193-1199.

this respect, Rosenstone explores whether 'historiophoty' can adequately convey the complex, qualified, and critical dimensions of historical thinking about events.[63]

White's methodology can also be extended to more intangible forms of history. Oral testimony represents a rich, contentious and, in the case of sport history, underutilised source of historical investigation. Douglas Booth and Holly Thorpe have recently made the case that oral testimonies are narrative forms and can be analysed as such using deconstructionist methods including White's model because "interviewees create their testimony like any other narrative that has a beginning, a plot, and an end point".[64] They also note that oral testimonies encompass a performative element which contains implications for meaning: "interviewees (and interviewers) perform speech through variations in tone, pace and volume, and which they enhance with body gestures and facial expressions".[65] These performative aspects convey and reinforce the speaker's choice of trope, argument, emplotment and ideology. Analysis of intonation, velocity of the speech, tonal range, volume range, rhythm, pauses, facial expressions, head movements and hand gestures help reinforce and create meaning in oral testimonies, meaning which is often lost in the transcription process.[66] These methods could prove highly useful in an analysis of interviewees in documentary films. As with this research, Booth and Thorpe reject the idea that the past can be retrieved from an interviewee by the interviewer as if memories are stored value-free as a form of databank.

A potentially fruitful analysis can also be conducted on how the tour – and perhaps history more generally – is taught at school level. The tour has long been taught in schools across the country, albeit on an irregular basis. However, with the announcement that from 2022 New Zealand history will be a compulsory school subject, it is likely that the tour will become a more widely taught topic. This presents a good opportunity to examine the politics behind the construction of knowledge. Much of the communication about the new school history suggests that New Zealanders have a past which they "can all be proud of" and which they ought to

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[63] Robert A. Rosenstone, "The History Film as a Mode of Historical Thought" in Robert A. Rosenstone and Constantin Parvulescu (eds.), *A Companion to Historical Film* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 71-87; Robert A. Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film", *American Historical Review* 93.5 (1988), pp. 1173-1185.

[64] Douglas Booth & Holly Thorpe, "Form and Performance in Oral History (Narratives): Historiographical Insights from Surfing and Snowboarding", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 36.13-14 (2019), p. 1139.

[65] *Ibid*., p. 1137.

[66] *Ibid*., p. 1146.

"celebrate".[67] This has raised concerns within the historical community that a very selective version of New Zealand's history may be taught under the new curriculum which forgets the unpalatable elements of the country's past.[68] An investigation of how the tour is taught in schools could produce important conclusions on not only how the tour is likely to be represented in the future, but the process through which historical knowledge is politicised, moulded and filtered through contemporary ideologies.

As both a gap in this research and as a future direction, the construct of history is treated here solely as a western institution. By treating history as narrative, we are fundamentally remembering the past through a westernised framework. White too feels it necessary to articulate that his methods are directed at a western mode of thinking about the past. However, in multi-cultural countries like New Zealand (and South Africa), approaching history in this manner does not take into account indigenous conceptions of the past or modes of telling stories. The work of Alice Te Punga Somerville is relevant here. She has explored how indigenous storytelling about the past seems "out of order", "broken; in the wrong sequence; and interrupting accepted rules".[69] This indigenous approach to the past may provide the basis for further exploration on alternative modes of history and storytelling. Similarly, in the context of 'decolonising' sport history, Samuel Clevenger questions whether "a historical field dedicated to a modern concept like sport [can] represent physical cultural pasts without presuming or imposing the epistemology and constructs of western modernity as a proclaimed universal means of representing the past".[70] He urges sport historians – both modern and postmodern – to engage with works concerning the "epistemic possibilities of decoloniality" and explore "alternative ways of conveying non-western physical cultural pasts".[71] This, Clevenger believes, "can complement the ongoing creation of deconstructionist scholarship"

[67] Government of New Zealand, Our Plan for A Modern New Zealand We Can All Be Proud Of, 2020; "NZ history to be taught in all schools", *Beehive.govt.nz*, 12 September 2019.

[68] These concerns were aired at the November 2019 New Zealand Historical Association annual conference, held at the Victoria University of Wellington. A dedicated panel session on "Transitioning from School to University History" raised questions about the kind of histories which are likely to be taught in schools.

[69] Alice Te Punga Somerville [Keynote], "Out of Order: Histories, Structures, Sovereignty", presented at New Zealand Historical Association Conference: Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi: Histories for Our Time (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand: 2019).

[70] Samuel M. Clevenger, "Sport history, modernity and the logic of coloniality: a case for decoloniality", *Rethinking History* 21.4 (2017), p. 587.

[71] *Ibid*., pp. 587-588.

while also recognising the importance of "alternative modalities of knowledge in non-western and pre-modern physical cultural histories".[72]

Comments for Sport History

Most sport historians have, by and large, not kept up with important historiographical debates (although Andrew D. Linden does present some evidence that sport historians have perhaps been more responsive to epistemological and historiographical debates than they are credited for).[73] Deconstructionism remains under explored by sport historians for whom "modernist linear narratives continue to dominate the presentation forms".[74] Historiographical debates pertaining to methodology, ontology, and epistemology are largely absent in historical studies on sport and there remains a general lack of interest amongst sports historians to engage with contemporary debates about history.[75] Despite what Berkhofer refers to as the "crisis created by the implications of literary and rhetorical theory for the very practice of history itself", Phillips argues that sports historians have largely remained uninterested in what is now a defining feature of the field.[76] While these debates have predominantly escaped the attention of historians of sport (or has been resisted by them), there is evidence that they are beginning to enter sport history. Booth's *The Field* (2005) provides a theoretical overview of deconstructive methodologies and their potential benefits to historians of sport. More recently, Richard Pringle and Murray G. Phillips' edited collection, *Examining Sport Histories* (2013), provides a comprehensive road map to the benefits and challenges of deconstructionism. Booth and Falcous also identify key elements of deconstructionism that are beginning to enter sport history:

> Historians of sport have referred to elusive sources, indeterminate sources and affective sources. They have classified facts as 'beliefs' and concepts as 'negotiated meanings', and they have conceptualised sporting practices as cultural texts

[72] Clevenger, "Sport history, modernity and the logic of coloniality", p. 588.

[73] See: Andrew D. Linden, "Tempering the Dichotomous Flame: Social History, Cultural History, and Postmodernism(s) in the *Journal of Sport History*, 1974–2014", *Journal of Sport History* 43.1 (2016), pp. 66-82.

[74] Booth & Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies", p. 159.

[75] See: Alan Tomlinson & Christopher Young, "Sport in History: Challenging the Communis Opinio", *Journal of Sport History* 37.1 (2010), pp. 5-17.

[76] Robert F. Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1995), p. 25; Murray G. Phillips, "Deconstructing Sport History: The Postmodern Challenge", *Journal of Sport History* 28.3 (2001), p. 327.

> grounded in multiple voices and perspectives. Sport historians have also conceptualized archives as sites of power, photographs as productive processes in the creation of history, myths as functions of social power and vested interests, memory as a process of construction and historians as authors. They have embraced reflexivity and experimented in presenting history in new ways.[77]

Nathan, and Liberti and Smith offer excellent examples of how deconstructionist sensibilities can be practically applied. *Saying It's So* (2003) and *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph* (2015) proceed from the presupposition that history is present centred and therefore in a constant state of flux as material conditions change. They resist interrogating their subjects through empiricism and instead map how historical narratives about them have changed over time and are presented through the contemporary cultural lenses from which they are produced.

Predominantly, though, historians of sport have lagged in their response to these debates in the greater historical field. As much as any other, sport historians need to recognise that when constructing a version of the past, they are undeniably engaged in narrative, poetic and rhetorical enterprises.[78] Furthermore, history is fundamentally power-laden and by interrogating the literary devices authors subconsciously use to reconstruct the past we may be able to unearth some of these power structures. In advancing their methodology for interrogating power, Mary McDonald and Susan Birrell recognise the significance of the 'linguistic turn' to critical sport scholars, concluding that "narratives matter because they do ideological work".[79]

In essence, then, for advocates of the 'linguistic turn' the ideal histories are those which do not shelter behind the claim of objectivity. Rather, historians should actively make themselves visible in their narratives by acknowledging the apparatuses used to construct their versions of the past. In so doing, we make the reader aware of the fact that the historian is not omniscient

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[77] Booth & Falcous, "History, Sociology and Critical Sport Studies", p. 159. For examples, see: John Bale, *Roger Bannister and the Four-Minute Mile: Sports Myth and Sports History* (London: Routledge, 2004); J. Hill, "Anecdotal Evidence: Sport, the Newspaper Press, and History" in Murray G. Phillips (ed.), *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006); Douglas Booth, "Sites of Truth or Metaphors of Power? Refiguring the Archive", *Sport in History* 26.1 (2006), pp. 91-109; Gary Osmond, "Myth-Making in Australian Sport History: Re-evaluating Duke Kahanamoku's Contribution to Surfing", *Australian Historical Studies* 42.2 (2011), pp. 260-276.

[78] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative in Sport History", p. 36.

[79] Mary G. McDonald and Susan Birrell, "Reading Sport Critically: A Methodology for Interrogating Power", *Sociology of Sport Journa*l 16.1 (1999), p. 295.

or impartial. To echo Phillips, in so doing we create "a range of options previously unconsidered for the profession".[80] Ultimately, as Munslow puts it, "if we approach history as literature, we may even write better history, as we deploy an additional range of critical apparatuses".[81] At the very least, we should begin to explore the constituted rather than found nature of history.

As a final comment, I echo Munslow's observation that the history described here – and throughout the texts that I draw on – has no more claim to being *the* way of looking at the past and the textual representations we construct about it than any other rational approach. Deconstructionist histories, however, are distinguishable from other paradigms because they emphasise that history entails more than inference and empiricism and that it is, at its core, a narrative-making exercise.

[80] Phillips, "A Critical Appraisal of Narrative", p. 36.
[81] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 71.

Appendix One: Tropologies

Schematic Outline of the tropologies of the deconstructed texts by theme and era.

Table One
Politicising Rugby: Activist Histories, 1981 – 1986

Author(s)	Ideology	Metaphor	Trope	Emplotment	Argument
Newnham (1981)	Liberal	Solidarity; Victimhood	Synecdoche; Metonymy	Romantic	Formism; Contextualism
Hollins & Freeman (1982)	Radical	Feminism; Liberation	Synecdoche	n/a	Mechanicism; Contextualism
Meurant (1982)	Conservative	Celebration	Synecdoche; Metonymy	Romantic	Formism
Chapple (1984)	Radical	Martyrdom	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism; Formism

Table Two
Rehabilitating and Depoliticising Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1987 – 1994

Author(s)	Ideology	Metaphor	Trope	Emplotment	Argument
Cameron (1989)	Conservative; Liberal	Disaster	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism
Chester & McMillan (1990)	Conservative	Celebratory	Metonymy	n/a	Contextualism
Hutchins (1991)	Conservative	Victimhood; Celebratory	Metonymy	Romantic	Formism
Barrows (1992)	Conservative; Liberal	Apolitical Sport; 'Bridge-Building'; Victimhood	Synecdoche	n/a	Contextualism

Table Three
Virtuous Rugby: Popular Rugby Histories, 1995 – 2019

Author(s)	Ideology	Metaphor	Trope	Emplotment	Argument
Macdonald (1996)	Liberal	Virtuous Rugby; 'Bad-Apple'	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism; Formism
Quinn (2002)	Liberal	Anti-Apartheid	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Mulholland (2009)	Radical	Political Rugby	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Palenski (2015)	Conservative	Virtuous Rugby	Metonymy	Romantic	Contextualism

Table Four
Politicising Rugby in Academic Representations

Author(s)	Ideology	Metaphor	Trope	Emplotment	Argument
Phillips (1987)	Radical	Moral Protest	Synecdoche	Tragic	Contextualism
Fougere (1989)	Radical	'Shattered Mirror'	Synecdoche	Romantic	Contextualism
Richards (1999)	Radical	Anti-Apartheid	Metonymical	Romantic	Contextualism
Hughes (2005)	Radical	Feminism; Gender Critique	Metonymy	Tragic	Mechanicism; Contextualism
MacLean (1998 – 2010)	Radical	Political	Metonymy	Romantic; Tragic	Contextualism

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